KING EDWARD VI

AN APPRECIATION

SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM

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KING EDWARD VI

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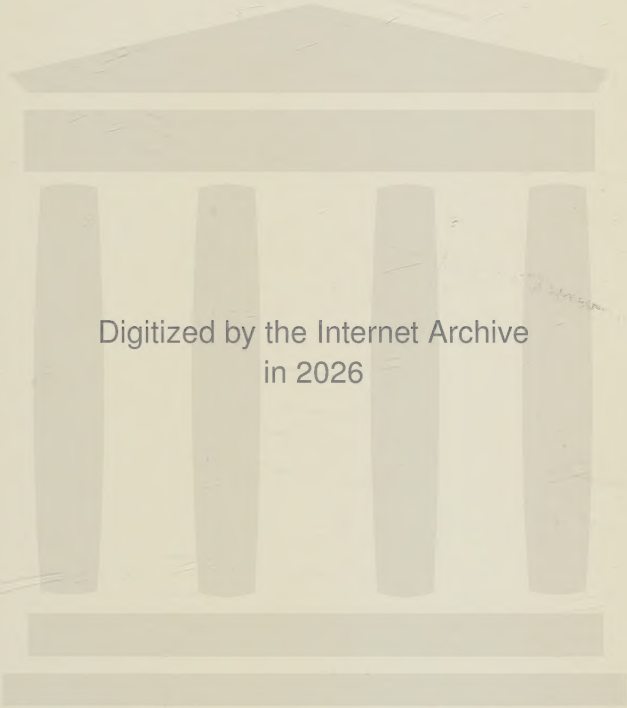
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KING EDWARD VI.

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KING EDWARD VI

AN APPRECIATION

ATTEMPTED BY

SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B.

WITH SIXTEEN PORTRAITS

LONDON
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1907

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PREFACE

The reign of King Edward VI. in our histories is the reign of Somerset and the reign of Northumberland, not the reign of Edward, who is left in the background, quite overshadowed by less noteworthy personages. The result of my studies has been the conviction that the young King was by no means a cypher. He early began to use his great learning, to show his clear insight into affairs, and before the close of his life he was making his influence felt.

Any account of those times must needs give much space to the proceedings of Seymours and Dudleys, and of their colleagues. But Edward ought to be the principal character in this history, for he had become so, or was rapidly becoming so in reality. In the following attempt to give an

appreciation of his place in history, chapters are devoted to his performance of the duties of the kingly office, to his regal receptions, to his religious reforms, to his study of affairs of State, to his study of geography and promotion of commerce, to his captaincy of games, to his progress through Hampshire and Wiltshire, and to his last illness.

His sister Elizabeth was destined to build the fair edifice for which Edward had laid the foundations. The purified national Church, the most catholic and most tolerant of all attempts to approach the divine original, was the inception of Edward and his advisers. The maritime expeditions, which were the direct causes of England's commercial and colonial greatness, date from the encouragement given by Edward and his friend Sydney to Sir Hugh Willoughby's enterprise. The influence of the founder may be traced in other departments of State, and was certainly appreciated by Elizabeth.

Everything that relates to Edward VI. and his writings has already been collected and arranged in the exhaustive volumes printed for the Rox-

burghe Club by Mr. J. G. Nichols in 1857. It is a splendid monograph. I have thought that a brief narrative might induce some who may read it to turn to that fuller supply of information, when I feel sure that they will concur in my conclusions, and that all readers will be led to appreciate more highly the fine character of young King Edward.

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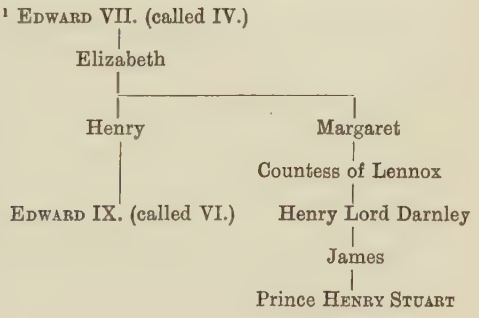
KING EDWARD VI

I

BIRTH AND EDUCATION

THE story of the cutting short of a young life, in which high and well-founded hopes centred, must needs be a sad story. Yet there must be much in it which makes it worthy of record. Our young King Edward, the friend of Sydney, and Prince Henry Stuart,[1] the friend of Raleigh, were alike in something more than their early deaths. With both bright hopes for the future



came to an end. Both worked diligently and had lofty aims for the good of their country. Both showed strong individuality far in excess of any inherited qualities. Above all, both were born geographers and ardent lovers of exploring enterprise. Under the auspices of Edward, the Russian trade by the White Sea was opened. Under the auspices of Henry, Hudson's Bay was explored.

Historians are pleased to call young Edward precocious in a depreciatory sense, as if there was something unnatural in what is told of him. But all that is recorded is perfectly natural. He was as fond of games and of fun as any other boy of his age. But he was placed in a position of great responsibility and extreme difficulty. In such circumstances he rose to the occasion. He was surrounded by unprincipled self-seeking politicians, and he saw through them. There is nothing precocious in that. Any educated, intelligent, and well-conditioned lad would have done the same. In such a position youth has a great advantage over age. The latter has experience, but often of a baneful kind. The former has clearer judgment, higher aims, and an intuition of the truth, qualities which are not precocious, but which were worth all the artful scheming

and experience of the whole of his unprincipled Council put together.

Queen Jane Seymour was married on May 20, 1536, and Edward was born on October 12, 1537. The newborn prince was of legitimate royal descent on the mother's side.[1] The christening took place in great state on October 15. The Prince's titles were declared by Garter—'Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester.' The Marchioness of Exeter carried the child under a canopy, Mrs. Jackson, the nurse, keeping close behind. Little sister Elizabeth, borne in the arms of Edward Seymour, held the chrysm. The font, which was of solid silver, was kept by Sir J. Russell, Sir F. Bryan, Sir A. Carew, and Sir A. Browne, with aprons and towels. The Godfathers were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Duke of Suffolk. The Godmother was the

[1] Not on the father's side. The elder Henry Tydder, or Tudor (he never was Earl of Richmond), had no legitimate royal descent. He usurped the crown, and married Elizabeth, an illegitimate daughter of Edward IV., to strengthen his position. But to secure this object he had to destroy the evidence of the illegitimacy of the children of Edward IV. This he did with great diligence, and by the unscrupulous use of power. He succeeded as regards his own time; but these proceedings gave his son no title. The son probably knew the truth, and this accounts for his unrelenting ferocity whenever he found an excuse for slaughtering a descendant of the old royal family. Edward VI. was independent of all this. His title was a Parliamentary one, and indisputable.

child's half-sister Mary. It was Mary who held the child at the font.[1]

On October 24 Queen Jane died.[2] The funeral took place on November 13 at Windsor, Mary Tudor and Frances Brandon being the chief mourners. Little Edward became motherless when he was twelve days old. The infant prince passed his first years at the royal manor near Romford in Essex, called Havering-atte-Bower; and later at Hunsdon in Hertfordshire. His head nurse was Sybill Penne, a young widow, daughter of Sir Hugh Pagenham, and sister-in-law of William Sydney. The second nurse was Mrs. Jackson. Edward always called her 'Mother Jack.' Her portrait by Holbein gives us the idea of a handsome woman, with a pleasant expression. There were four rockers or nursery maids, who all had pensions while Edward was alive. Dr. G. Owen had the

[1] But Edward omitted her name in his Journal. Mary had been allowed to come to Court again in July 1536, after having signed a solemn declaration that the Pope's pretended authority and jurisdiction in England were usurped, and that her mother's marriage was, by God's law, incestuous and unlawful.

[2] Wednesday, October 24, MS. in the Heralds' Office quoted by Strype. Stow, Herbert, and Holinshed give the 12th for the date of the Queen's death. (See Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* II. Part I. p. 10.) Strype is certainly right, for Jane survived the christening, which was on the 15th.

QUEEN JANE SEYMOUR.

From an Engraving by H. Robinson after the Painting by Holbein.

post of physician, retaining it until Edward's death.

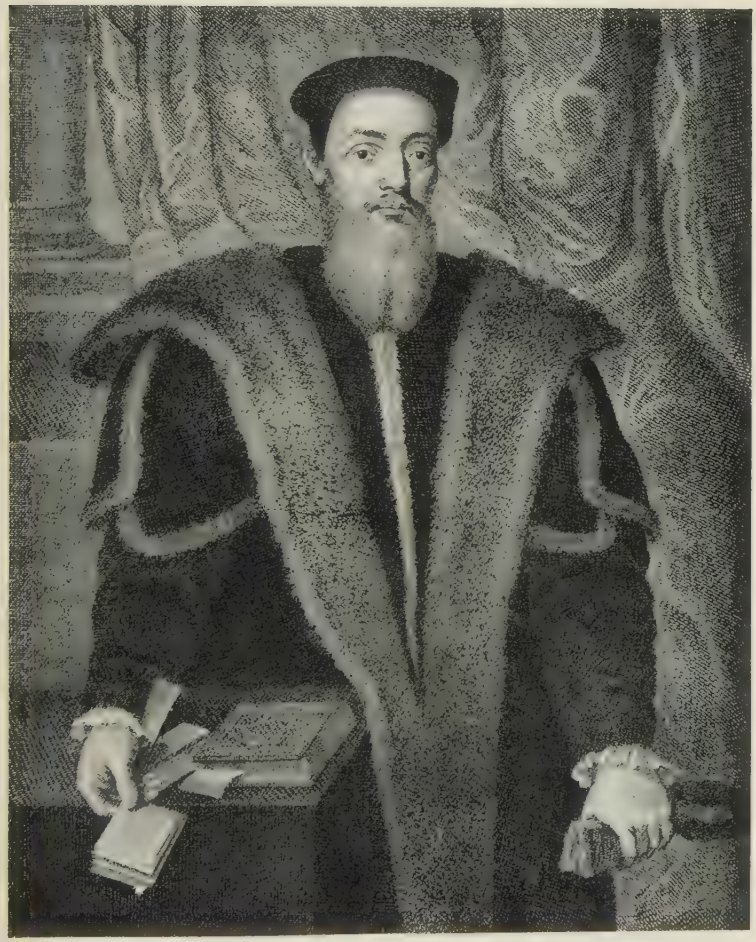
The child inherited his mother's beauty, her blue eyes and perfect features. In his very early years he found a second mother in his step-mother, Catherine Parr. This Queen had been a Westmorland beauty in her youth. She had been married to Lord Burgh, then to Lord Latimer, but was childless; and on July 12, 1543, she became the sixth wife of Henry VIII. By her wise and judicious conduct she kept her head on her shoulders during the four and a half years of her married life. She was a very charming lady, kind-hearted and accomplished, and most anxious to befriend her husband's motherless children. Little Edward, with his sister Elizabeth, paid pleasant visits to her at Hampton Court, and one at Oking in 1544.

In the same year, at the age of six, Edward was taken from the care of women, and a household was appointed for him, with tutors and young companions. His first Chamberlain was William Sydney, his nurse's brother-in-law. His first Steward was Sir John Cornwallis, who died at Ashridge, while in attendance, on August 23, 1544. His Cofferer was John Ryder.

Edward's homes, as a boy, were at Tyttenhanger, Hunsdon, Ashridge, Hatfield, and Hertford in Hertfordshire, and Ampthill in Bedfordshire.

Sir Anthony Cooke was the Director of Instruction. The senior tutor was Dr. Richard Cox, a native of Buckinghamshire, of low extraction. Cox was educated at Eton, and was afterwards Head Master there. It is said that the boys profited much from his diligent instruction. He was very learned and a convinced Protestant, helping Cranmer with the liturgy. Dr. Cox was Archdeacon of Ely, and in 1546 he became Dean of Christ Church. He taught the Prince religion and manners.

Dr. John Cheke was born at Cambridge in 1514. His family came originally from the Isle of Wight. He became Greek Professor, and introduced the system of pronunciation which has since prevailed. In 1544 he came to Court, and was appointed Tutor to the Prince for classics and mathematics. He was made Provost of King's. Dr. Cheke also taught the Princess Elizabeth, brother and sister working together at Ampthill, and afterwards at Hatfield. Dr. Cheke read Aristotle's 'Ethics' in Greek with them. The brother and sister passed many happy days together, and



SIR JOHN CHEKE, KT.

From an Engraving by James Fittler, A.R.A., after a Drawing by W. Skelton.

Edward called Elizabeth ' his sweet sister Temperance.' [1]

Dr. Cheke first gave Edward his love for geography, and advised him to keep a diary of all occurrences of weight, advice which bore rich fruit. Roger Ascham taught the Prince to write, and Jean Belmaine was his tutor for the French language.

The Prince was very fond of music, and had good instructors. Dr. Tye, a well-known composer in those days, was one. Dr. Sternhold, author of a metrical version of the Psalms, was another. Philip van Wilder taught the Prince to play on the lute, at which he became proficient.

Young Edward was exceedingly fond of his studies, and showed grasp and quickness of perception which were remarkable in one so young. Several of his letters, written at this time, have been preserved. There are three to his stepmother, one in English, one in Latin, one in French, all written in 1546. There is one in Latin to Cranmer, a second Latin letter to Catherine Parr in 1547, letters to his sisters Mary and Elizabeth in Latin, and one to Henry VIII. in Latin, thanking him for presents of chains, rings, and seals.[2]

[1] Camden, *Introduction to the Annals of Elizabeth.*

[2] Ellis, *Original Letters*, 1st Series.

Young Edward had several schoolfellows who lived with him at different times, and joined in his studies and his sports. The nearest and dearest was Barnaby Fitzpatrick, son and heir of the Lord of Upper Ossory. He was born in 1535, and was thus two years older than Edward. Young Barnaby was sent to the English Court, at an early age, as a pledge of his father's loyalty, and we first hear of him as taking a part in the funeral of Henry VIII. He was one of the nine boys, in black cloaks, hooded, and well mounted, who rode in the procession carrying the banners of Brutus, Belinus, Cadwallader, Arthur, Athelstan, Edmund, St. Edward, Edward exile, and England single. They were followed in the procession by Sir F. Bryan, Master of the Henchmen,[1] Sir Anthony Wingfield, Captain of the Guard, and Sir John Markham, who carried the banner of Lancaster.

Barnaby was Edward's companion in his studies and at his sports. An affection grew up between them which was stronger than ordinary friendship, and which lasted until they were parted by death.[2]

[1] The names of the other boys were Stourton, Kelingham, Le Strange, Denny, R. Browne, Armour, J. Browne, and Cotton.

[2] Fuller says that Barnaby was Edward's whipping boy. The term he uses is 'proxy for correction.' He gives no authority, and

Other companions of Edward were Henry Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and his brother Charles. They were not relations, but sons of his uncle-in-law, the Duke of Suffolk, by another mother, Lady Willoughby d'Eresby. They were very beautiful and most charming boys; but their mother took them away to send them to Cambridge when they were still very young. Lord Charles Brandon was just Edward's age. The Prince had several other companions at one time or another. These were his cousin Edward Seymour, Lord Talbot (son of the Earl of Shrewsbury), Lord Fitzwarine (son of the Earl of Bath), Lord Maltravers (son of the Earl of Arundel), young Giles Paulet, Lord Lumley, Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Fitzwalter (son of the Earl of Sussex), the Earl of Ormonde, Lord Mountjoy and Lord Strange (son of the Earl of Derby), who was not so desirable a comrade as the others.[1]

If Edward was diligent at his studies, he was

the story is not worthy of belief. The idea is very un-English. Fuller wrote in the days of the Stuarts, when it was known that James Stuart had had such a proxy.

[1] Lord Strange swore that he was employed as a spy by Somerset. Somerset swore that he was not. So that he was either a spy or a perjured liar; in either case not a desirable comrade for the Prince. It was in the blood. The treachery of the Stanleys ended the glorious dynasty of Plantagenets, and there was a Stanley traitor in the days of Elizabeth.

also a thorough young sportsman, and was for ever getting up matches among his comrades, and among the servants. He also amused himself very well indoors. We have a glimpse of his playing at cards with Jane Dormer,[1] and dancing with her.

The young heir to the throne was not very fortunate as regards relations. His kind step-mother was the most beneficial to him, and he had occasionally stayed with her, but she died in 1548. His grandmother, Lady Seymour, was alive, and kept house for her son, Thomas Lord Sudeley, after his wife's death. His two aunts were married to Gregory Lord Cromwell, and to Sir Clement Smith. The Prince never felt much affection for his uncle Edward. Child as he was, he could see that this uncle was unreliable and self-seeking. Edward Seymour's wife was an awful woman with violent dislikes, a shrewish temper, malignant and rapacious. Thomas Seymour was the Prince's favourite uncle, accomplished, good-natured, and always striving to make things pleasant for his nephew. His half-sister Elizabeth was his chosen companion before his accession, and he was also intimate with his

[1] Afterwards Duchess of Feria. Her mother was a Sydney, grandchild of young Edward's Chamberlain, Sir William Sydney.

QUEEN CATHERINE PARR.

From an Engraving by J. Cochran after the Painting by Holbein.

young cousin, Jane Grey, who was his own age. Mary was over twenty years his senior. She was a narrow-minded bigot, though willing to recant and conceal her real opinions for the sake of a better position during her father's life. The warm-hearted brother seems to have had affectionate feelings towards her. A Latin letter from Edward to Mary has been preserved, dated from Hunsdon on May 8, 1546.

Edward saw his cousins occasionally, the Countess of Lennox, the Countess of Cumberland, and the Marchioness of Dorset—mother of Jane Grey. But these ladies were many years his seniors. His Seymour and Wentworth cousins were nearer his own age, and the elder Seymour boys enjoyed his intimacy.

Edward increased in years and learning, surrounded by some near relations and many friends, for all who knew the generous princely boy could not fail to love him. Never was there brighter promise for England. Alas! for the disappointment.

William Thomas, afterwards Clerk of the Council, described young Edward at this time. 'He is the beautifullest creature that liveth under the sun, the wittiest, the most amiable, and the

gentlest thing of all the world. Such a capacity for learning that it is a wonder to hear say. Finally he hath such a grace of feature and gesture that it would seem he were already a father, and yet passeth he not the age of ten years.'

NOTE.

Edward's Latin and other Exercises.

The 'Orationes' are Edward's exercises in Latin. Following the scheme of Erasmus, they consist of an exordium, narratio, divisio, confirmatio, distributio, and peroratio. Oratio XI. is on astronomy.

MS. Harl. 5087 is 'The King's Copy-book.' Two-thirds of it consist of Latin exercises. The rest letters.

There are three religious compilations in French :—

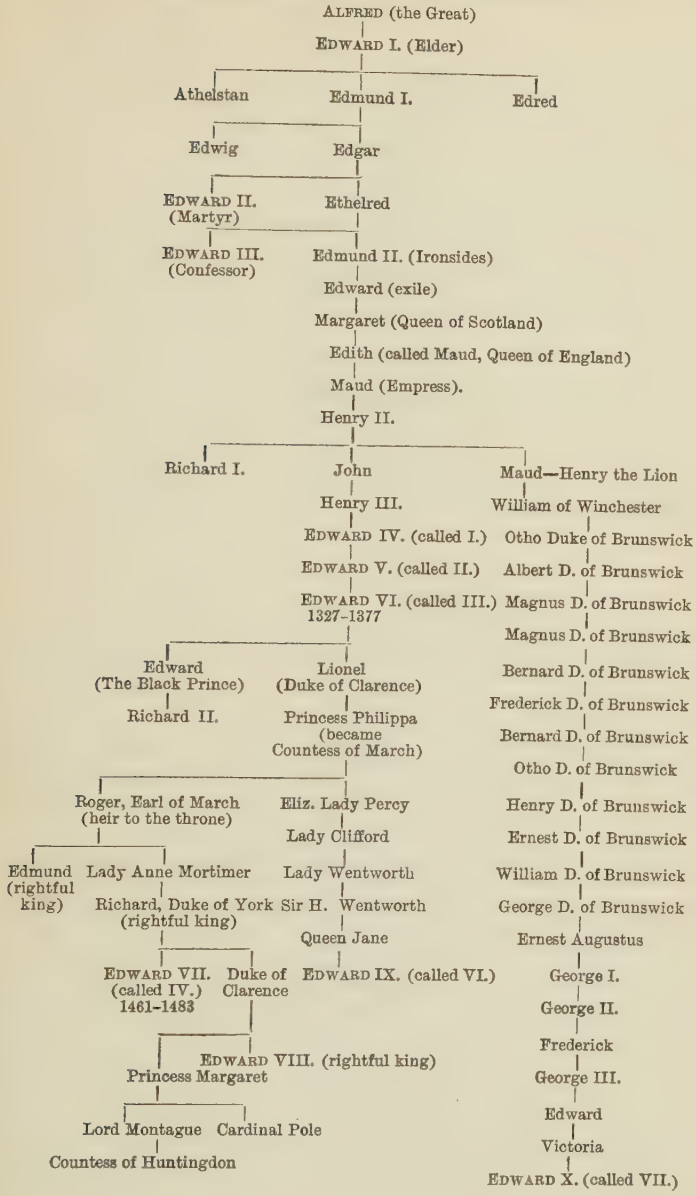
1. 'Passages against Idolatry,' 72 texts of the Old Testament (Burnet, II. Book ii. p. 63)	Now in the Library, Trinity College, Cambridge.
2. 'On Faith' . . .	In the British Museum.
3. 'Papal Supremacy' .	Public Library, Cambridge.

Some lines on the Eucharist are attributed to Edward.

'I say that Christ, His flesh and blood,
Is there continually,
Unto our souls a special food,
Taking it spiritually.

'Not with our teeth the flesh to tare,
Not take blood for drink;
Too great absurdity it were
So grossly for to think.'

THE EDWARDS, KINGS OF ENGLAND



LEGITIMATE ROYAL DESCENT OF EDWARD VI

Edward III.
|
Lionel Duke of Clarence
|
Philippa Countess of March
|
Elizabeth Lady Percy
|
Lady Clifford
|
Lady Wentworth
|
Sir H. Wentworth
|
Lady Seymour
|
Queen Jane Seymour
|
Edward VI.

Relations of King Edward VI

Maternal Grandmother	Lady Seymour (Wentworth), died 1550.
Step-mother	Queen Catherine Parr, died 1548.
Half-sisters	Mary.
	Elizabeth, 'his sweet sister Temperance.'
Uncles	Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford.
	Thomas Lord Seymour of Sudeley.
	Henry Seymour.
Uncles-in-law	Gregory, Lord Cromwell.
	Sir Clement Smith of Little Baddon.
Aunts	Elizabeth Lady Cromwell (Seymour).
	Dorothy Lady Smith (Seymour).

Aunts-in-law . .	. Countess of Hertford (Stanhope).
	Queen Catherine Parr (also step-mother).
First Cousins . .	. Countess of Lennox.
	Marchioness of Dorset (Brandon).
	Countess of Cumberland (Brandon).
	Mary of Guise (widow of James V., first cousin).
	Sir Edward Seymour, of Berry Pomeroy.
	Edward Seymour (afterwards Earl of Hertford).
	Henry Seymour.
	Anne Seymour—1st J. Dudley; 2nd Sir E. Umpton.
	Jane Seymour.
	Margaret Seymour.
	Catherine Seymour.
	Mary Seymour — 1st Rogers; 2nd Peyton.
	Elizabeth Seymour, Lady Knightley.
	Henry Lord Cromwell.
	Catherine Cromwell—Strode.
	Frances Cromwell—Strode.
	Edward Cromwell.
	Thomas Cromwell.
	John Smith.
First Cousins once removed	Mary Queen of Scots, born 1542.
	Henry Lord Darnley, born 1545.
	Lady Jane Grey, born 1537.
	Lady Catherine Grey.
	Lady Mary Grey.
	Lady Elizabeth Clifford.
	Lord Wentworth, died 1551

First Cousins once removed	Lady Tollemache. Lady Glemham. Mrs. Ponds.
Second Cousin . .	Lord Wentworth.
Second Cousin . .	Lord Courtenay (in the Tower).
Second Cousin once removed	Cardinal Pole (banished).
Third Cousin . . .	Countess of Huntingdon, the legitimate heiress of the Plantagenets, grand-daughter of the Princess Margaret, daughter of George Duke of Clarence.

II

THE INHERITANCE

THE inheritance of young Edward, if he had ever entered upon it, would have been one surrounded by difficulties which it would have required a prince of no ordinary ability to overcome. Edward had studied and understood them. He had prepared himself, when of full age, to apply remedies; and all that we know of his life history justifies the belief that he would have succeeded in the great and patriotic work that was before him.

The country's difficulties had been caused by a usurpation followed by over sixty years of misgovernment. In 1485 the last Plantagenet king was slain in battle through the treachery of the Stanleys. Richard III. sought the good of his people, and was making this duty the main object of his reign. After his death Henry Tydder, or Tudor,[1] seized the throne, but the Welsh

[1] He was not Earl of Richmond. His father had been given that title, but had been deprived by act of attainder. The earldom

adventurer had no other claim than the precarious one of conquest. He ordered the evidence of the illegitimacy of the children of Edward IV.[1] to be destroyed, and, after long hesitation, he married the eldest daughter. This gave no legitimate title to his heir, although the pretence of legitimacy was maintained and enforced, all who knew to the contrary being threatened with imprisonment and ruin if they were not silent.

This usurpation was the originating cause of misgovernment. All the abilities of the usurpers were devoted to measures, often cruel and lawless measures, for the maintenance of their position. For the same reason it was so also in the case of Henry IV., although he was at least a member of the royal family. Henry Bolingbroke murdered King Richard II., his half-brothers, and his most faithful servants. The usurper had to maintain his position by civil wars involving the slaughter of high and low. He had to secure the support of the clergy by passing cruel laws for the extirpa-

of Richmond was afterwards granted by Edward IV. to his brother, the Duke of Gloucester. When the Duke became King as Richard III. the title merged in the crown.

[1] They were illegitimate because Edward IV. was married or contracted to Lady Eleanor Butler at the time that he went through a marriage ceremony with Elizabeth Woodville.

tion of heresy. His son, to divert the attention of the people from their own affairs, plunged the country into an unprincipled and disastrous war with France; and finally the misgovernment became intolerable, the usurping dynasty was rejected after another civil war, and the country gave its allegiance to the rightful heir. Such were the results of the Lancastrian usurpation.

The Tudor usurpation had to follow a similar course. The main object of the fortunate adventurer was to establish his position by the destruction of possible rivals. There were civil wars, disappearances in prison, and judicial murders. What Henry VII. began, his son continued. Henry VIII. lost no opportunity of destroying descendants of the old royal family: Suffolk, Buckingham, Montague, Courtenay, the venerable Princess Margaret (last of the Plantagenets), and the accomplished Surrey. The Duke of Norfolk would have followed if the merciless executioner had not been called to his account.

These cruelties were bad enough in themselves, but the supposed exigencies which caused them also led to the neglect of those measures for the good of the people which would have received attention from legitimate sovereigns. The legis-

lation of Henry VIII. was mainly directed to the establishment of his own despotic power. His Parliaments were not representative of the people. Practically the members were chosen by the Sheriffs under instructions, and formed base and subservient assemblies. Treason Laws were enacted, making capital offences of words alleged by one witness to have been spoken. The Parliaments were ready to pass Acts of Attainder when required, and many victims were put to death without trial; indeed, it was extremely difficult for public men with any self-respect or independence to keep their heads on their shoulders. Henry's proclamations were given the force of Acts of Parliament, a measure which practically ensured him despotic power. In this shameful legislation difficulties were growing up for a successor who was resolved to rule justly and wisely. The subservient Parliament even made a law empowering Henry to settle the succession by will.

Henry VIII. had been taught all the learning of those days, he was a scholar and a theologian, as a young man expert in the use of arms, and in later life industrious and methodical. He was endowed by nature with great abilities, was a good administrator, and a practical expert on

some points, able to look into details himself. This was especially shown in his administration of the navy, of its civil departments, and even in his essays to form a system of naval tactics.

But here his merits end. He thought of nothing but himself. Utterly devoid of affection for others, he was callous to suffering, and shamefully ungrateful. He never showed mercy. In his youth his life was dissolute and immoral, and he certainly had other illegitimate children besides the Duke of Richmond. To one he granted Kelston and Bath Easton, property of the Church, and married her to John Harington. He was extravagant and a bad financier. His personal courage may well be questioned. He never exposed his person in his wars, and he fled like a craven from infectious diseases. Like his father he ever tried to shield himself, in his lawless acts, by forms of law and sanctions of packed Parliaments.

Henry's treatment of his Ministers was matchless in its injustice and ingratitude. His father was the only English sovereign who descended to practices of which the most pettifogging attorney would be ashamed. Sir Edmund Dudley was a member of the usurper's Council, and was supposed to have suggested many pretexts for extorting

bribes and fines which were approved by Henry. The result was a full treasury. The son succeeded to this rich inheritance, and spent the money on himself. There was no question of restoring any of it to those who were supposed to have been robbed; no question of respecting his father's memory, for if Dudley deserved to be beheaded, Henry VII. deserved to be hanged. But Dudley was loaded with all the blame, and Henry VIII. thought he would gain popularity by his execution. He had committed no capital crime. It would appear that no charge could be formulated; so Dudley was condemned on the absurd ground that, on hearing of the death of Henry VII., he asked his friends to come armed to his house in Seething Lane as a precaution in case of a riot. This step was neither treasonable nor criminal. Dudley's execution was the first essay of Henry VIII. in judicial murders, the worst of all murders, as Lord Russell truly said. The execution of the Earl of Suffolk, a baser and more iniquitous murder, quickly followed.

Henry's treatment of Cardinal Wolsey was more revolting in its cruelty and ingratitude. Wolsey was a great statesman. His splendid talent threw lustre on a long period of Henry's

reign. He was devoted to the interests of his master, and exerted all his abilities to further that master's wishes; but he failed where success was impossible. Henry disgraced him, robbed him of his possessions, and was having the old statesman brought from Yorkshire to be slaughtered, when kindly death interposed, and robbed the tyrant of his victim.

Henry's treatment of Cromwell was, in some respects, still more revolting as showing the utter absence of generous feeling and gratitude towards a faithful and devoted servant. Cromwell was without principle or scruple, and stuck at nothing to secure his master's ends. A more honourable minister would never have been in power under Henry for ten years. Like Dudley and Henry VII., Cromwell and Henry VIII. were congenial spirits. Cromwell undertook and completed the great work of suppressing the monasteries and placing vast wealth in the hands of his master to be misused and squandered. He was a man of extraordinary ability, broad views, and almost superhuman powers of work. Cromwell's foreign policy was to form a league with the Protestant princes of Germany. In furtherance of it Henry arranged to marry a sister of the Duke of Cleves.

But he took a dislike to the lady when he saw her, and, with a total disregard of anything but his own selfish whim, he ordered a divorce and turned against his faithful minister. Cromwell's execution followed, condemned without a trial, and on frivolous charges which were childish in their absurdity. As in the case of Dudley, if Cromwell deserved to be beheaded, Henry deserved to be hanged, for he had initiated or approved every act of Cromwell. Such was his treatment of Wolsey and Cromwell, great statesmen who served him ably and faithfully, with single-minded zeal. However unjust and cruel they may have been to others, to Henry they were ever faithful and true. When he tired of them his return was the axe. He never found another statesman of the same calibre to serve him. Surrounded by inferior agents, self-seeking and rapacious, he committed almost every blunder that a ruler could be guilty of, leaving an inheritance of difficulties and troubles for his successor.

Henry's coarse and ungracious treatment of Anne of Cleves reminds us of his complete absence of courtesy and chivalrous feeling towards women. The sovereigns of the Tudor Dynasty stand alone as the executioners of women for political offences ;

but Henry went far beyond his daughters. He burnt a lady alive on a charge of being concerned in a rebellion, and he had Anne Askew tortured in the hope of making her accuse others, before she was burnt. His charges against Anne Boleyn were only confirmed by one witness, after torture; and the weight of such evidence as exists is against her guilt. Before execution she was induced by fear or by a faint hope of mercy to state that she was betrothed to the Earl of Northumberland secretly, before she married Henry. The Earl positively denied it. But on the strength of Anne's statement it was declared that there had never been any marriage with Henry. The only object in forcing Anne to make the statement was that Henry might bastardise his little daughter. One thing is certain. If there was no marriage there was no treason, and Anne's execution was a deliberate murder.

The abolition of the Pope's usurped power in England was a most beneficial measure for the good of the people. But this was not Henry's object. He was tired of his wife, the Pope refused to grant a divorce, so Henry declared himself Supreme Head of the Church, and caused the divorce to be pronounced by the Archbishop of

Canterbury. Although Henry had, up to that moment, acknowledged and upheld the Pope's supremacy, he now declared it to be a capital offence to assert this very dogma. There fell by the axe, on this account, the venerable Bishop Fisher, and the accomplished and virtuous Sir Thomas More, while the Carthusians and other conscientious men were tortured and hanged. Meanwhile the marriage with Catherine of Aragon was declared to have been, by God's law, incestuous and unlawful. This statement, as well as that respecting the nullity of the marriage with Anne Boleyn, was confirmed by Act of Parliament. Thus this precious father bastardised both his own daughters on grounds which he himself knew to be untenable. He brutally forced his eldest daughter to declare herself a bastard.

The suppression of the monasteries was a great measure which brought into the treasury an enormous amount of wealth chiefly in land, and Cromwell formed a special department for its administration, called the Court of Augmentations. If this wealth had been retained for the use of the State, by the endowment of colleges, hospitals, and similar institutions, and if the magnificent buildings all over England had been

kept in repair and utilised, incalculable good would have accrued to the country. But Henry had no such intention. To save appearances he used a mere fraction to create new bishoprics,[1] endow some colleges, and to build two or three useless defensive towers along the coast. He either squandered all the rest on himself, or granted it, in the form of lands, to his agents and dependents. Not the least of the evils caused by this shameless confiscation of the property of the State was the demoralisation of politicians, who thus had their appetites whetted for robbery and spoliation.

The neglect of the duty incumbent on the Government to establish an efficient working substitute for the charitable duties of the monasteries led to very serious difficulties. An alarming increase of vagrancy and mendicancy was the inevitable consequence. Henry's only remedy was to mutilate and hang the outcasts. Here again his rapacity and misgovernment left a sad inheritance for his successor.

Henry's legislation giving him powers for cruel religious persecution was another baneful inheritance. He had cast off the papal usurpation, but

[1] Chester, Peterborough, Bristol, Oxford, Westminster.

he still held all the popish dogmas and tenets to which Protestants objected, including transubstantiation. Before Cromwell's death, the tyrant caused the Act of Six Articles to be passed, making it a capital offence, with death by burning, for anyone not to believe in the dogmas which Henry approved. This was one of the most infamous instruments of tyranny in the annals of persecution. Nor was it a dead letter. Upwards of twenty persons were burnt under the Six Articles Act. Three suffered in the Canons' Slopes at Windsor: Pearson a clergyman, Testwood a singer in the choir at St. George's, and Filmar, a tailor. Bonner caused a boy to be burnt, who had not reached his sixteenth year. The most atrocious case was that of Anne Askew, a young lady of blameless life but unswerving resolution, who was savagely tortured, but in vain, to make her accuse others, before she was burnt at the stake. This persecuting legislation was another horrible legacy which the tyrant left for his successor to deal with. Henry allowed the Bible to be printed in English, but he placed restrictions on its being read, and on its being printed.

Another evil inheritance was the question of enclosures. As wool and hides brought large

profits, the owners of land began to form parks, and to enclose large tracts, committing injustice on the yeomen and poorer people, driving them from their holdings, and pulling down their houses. The evil began to be felt as far back as the time of Richard III., and that King would have applied a remedy. His Chancellor, at the opening of the Parliament in 1484, referred to the matter in his speech. 'This body' (politic?), he said, 'falleth into decay, as we daily see it, both by closures and emparking, by driving away of tenants, and battering down of tenantries.' But after the death of King Richard nothing was done until Wolsey, who in many respects was an enlightened statesman, appointed a Commission to report on the rapidly growing evil, in 1517. The result was that proceedings were taken to restore tenements, and reconvert pasture into arable land, and there was a decree for pulling down all enclosures made since King Richard's death in 1485. But after Wolsey's fall, Henry, indifferent to all but his own selfish ends, allowed the evil to grow unchecked.

Old Latimer remembered the Plantagenet rule of his boyhood, and lived to deplore the Tudor misgovernment in his old age. 'Where there were

a great many householders and inhabitants,' he said, 'there is now a shepherd and his dog. The enclosers intend plainly to make the yeomen slaves, and the clergy slaves. We of the clergy had too much, but that is taken away, and now we have too little. My Father was a yeoman and had no land of his own, but rented a farm of 3*l.* or 4*l.* a year, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kine. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours and gave to the poor.' That was in Plantagenet times. 'He that now has the farm pays 16*l.* a year rent, and he is not able to do anything for his prince, for himself, or his children, or to give a cup of drink to the poor. Thus all the enhancing goes to private wealth.' This long neglect of the enclosure question was a terrible inheritance for Henry's successor.

Towards the end of the reign the misgovernment became worse and worse. In spite of all the exceptional sources of wealth, the accumulations of his father, the robbery of monasteries, the fines and confiscations, Henry died leaving heavy debts. Finally he proceeded to rob the people by debasing the coinage.

An Act of Parliament empowered Henry to settle the succession by Will.[1] Edward was declared to be heir to the crown, then his heirs general, then the two daughters Henry had bastardised—Mary and her heirs, Elizabeth and her heirs. Passing over the descendants of his sister, the Queen of Scotland, he made the daughters of his sister Mary Duchess of Suffolk the next heirs. Edward was to be of full age when he reached eighteen years. Meanwhile Henry's Council was to govern, sixteen as executors, and twelve as assistants to the executors.

The very worst inheritance left by Henry was the body of second-rate politicians with which he had surrounded himself, after the death of Cromwell. Some were men of ordinary ability, fitted to serve with efficiency in subordinate posts. Some were as ruthless as their master. Very few were honest men, for nearly all were insatiable robbers of the State.

The merciless tyrant was at last called to his account on January 28, 1547. 'Tyrannus est enim qui imperat invitis, qui armis reipublicae libertatem opprimit, qui non populi utilitati prae-

[1] 28 Henry VIII. c. 27 and 35 Henry VIII. c. 21.

cipue servit, sed suum emolumentum et arrepti imperii amplificationem respicit.' [1]

[1] 'A tyrant is he who rules against the will of the people, who oppresses the liberty of the commonwealth by force, who does not make the people's good his chief object, but only concerns himself with his own aggrandisement and the security of his usurped power.'—Mariana, *El Rey*, p. 188.

III

THE TWO UNCLES

Edward and Thomas Seymour were the sons of Sir John Seymour of Wolf Hall, near Savernake Forest in Wiltshire, a country gentleman of an old family which had been enriched by marriages with the heiress of Beauchamp of Hache, and the heiress of Sturmy of Wolf Hall. Their mother was Margery, daughter of Sir Henry Wentworth. Sir John Seymour had seen some service. Their children were Edward, Thomas and Henry, Jane, Dorothy and Elizabeth.

Edward was born in 1505, and came to Court at a very early age, for he was an 'Enfant d'Honneur' to Mary Tudor on her marriage with Louis XII. in 1514. When he was eighteen he served in the French campaign, and was knighted by the Duke of Suffolk on November 1, 1523. Next he became Master of the Horse to the Duke

of Richmond, and he formed part of the retinue of Cardinal Wolsey's embassy to France in 1527. On his return he was appointed a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. In 1536 Henry VIII. visited Wolf Hall, and, on his marriage with Jane Seymour, her brother Edward was created Viscount Beauchamp of Hache, and granted several manors, including Maiden Bradley. He was appointed to the Council, made Governor of Jersey, Chancellor of North Wales, and six days after the birth of Prince Edward he was created Earl of Hertford. His sister Elizabeth married Gregory, son of the powerful Minister Cromwell, and his youngest sister Dorothy married Sir Clement Smith of Baddon in Essex.

The Earl of Hertford was married to Catherine Fillol and had a son Edward. Hertford had been a courtier since he was nine years old, had accepted every change of his master, and was unprincipled and rapacious. But unlike Henry VIII., his brother-in-law was naturally weak and yielding, and not prone to harsh measures. He had good abilities, and was a fairly efficient military commander. He retained the favour of his capricious master, who created for him the new office of Lord Great Chamberlain. In 1540 he became a

Knight of the Garter, and in 1542 he was appointed Warden of the Scottish Marches.

In May 1544 Henry VIII. sent the Earl of Hertford to Leith, with a fleet and army, Lord Ewer coming by land with 4000 horse. On that occasion Edinburgh was taken and pillaged. In August Hertford joined Henry at Boulogne, and in January 1545 he was left in command there; when he surprised and routed a French force. Lord Ewer remained on the Scottish Marches, and he had been surprised and routed at Ancrum Moor, he himself being among the slain. Hertford was then recalled from Boulogne to avenge this disaster. Under orders from his ruthless master, Hertford devastated the Scottish Border during September 1545, burning castles and monasteries as a mere act of revenge. In January 1546 he was again sent to Boulogne, and peace was signed with France in the following July.

After the death of his first wife the Earl of Hertford married Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Stanhope of Shelford in Nottinghamshire. Her mother was a daughter of Fulk Bourchier, Lord Fitzwarine, great-grandson of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, the youngest son of Edward III. Of this descent she was inordinately

proud. She was an arrogant, grasping, malignant woman, and Hertford's wrongful acts and his misfortunes were due to the evil influence she maintained over him. He perpetrated one shameful piece of injustice by disinheriting his son by the first marriage, and even securing his deprivation of succession to the titles.[1] By Anne Stanhope the Earl of Hertford had two sons and six daughters.

During the last year of Henry's life his brother-in-law and Paget, the Secretary of State, were more closely associated with him than anyone else as regards public affairs, while the two gentlemen of the privy chamber, Herbert and Denny, were in personal attendance. Henry made his Will. There has been much discussion over it, but it can never be known whether it was tampered with or altered. At all events it was signed, Hertford, Paget, Denny, and Herbert being the witnesses. The Will nominated sixteen executors to be a Council to govern during the minority, as equals. But the breath was scarcely out of Henry's body before Hertford and Paget began

[1] Yet this injustice was eventually righted. The male heirs from the Stanhope marriage came to an end. The present Duke of Somerset and Marquis of Hertford are descended from the disinherited son of the first marriage.

to plot against this provision of the Will, with the object of making Hertford Protector of the Realm and Governor of the King's person with sole power. Thus had the elder brother, with no more than ordinary ability, raised himself, owing to his sister's marriage, to a great position.

Thomas Seymour, the second son, was three years younger than Edward. He was born in 1508, and his first public employment was as a messenger to carry despatches for Sir Francis Bryan, during his frequent embassies. On the marriage of his sister, Henry made him a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, conferred knighthood on him, and granted him the manor of Holt in Cheshire. In 1538 he was sent with Sir Anthony Browne's embassy to Paris, and afterwards to the Emperor Ferdinand, remaining at Vienna for two years. On his return, in 1543, he sought the hand of Catherine Parr, then the widowed Lady Latimer, but he had to yield her to his master. Thomas Seymour was employed to endeavour to raise troops at Nuremberg, and afterwards he was with the embassy at Brussels. He was second in command to Wallop, and in 1544 was appointed Master of the Ordnance for life. In October 1544 he received command of the fleet stationed at

Dover, and in August 1545 he was ordered to join the main fleet under Lord Lisle.

Thomas Seymour was a remarkably handsome man, skilled in all martial exercises, agreeable as a companion, kind and indulgent to his dependents. But like his brother Edward, his ambition far exceeded his ability, and both brothers were lacking in tact and judgment. Queen Elizabeth said of Thomas that he had much wit but no judgment. When Henry VIII. died, Edward Earl of Hertford was forty-two, and Sir Thomas Seymour was thirty-eight years of age. Thomas was young prince Edward's favourite uncle, from whom he always received affection and kindness.

HENRY'S SIXTEEN EXECUTORS

Archbishop of Canterbury—Cranmer.

Lord Chancellor—Wriothesley (made Earl of Southampton).

Judges—Sir E. Montagu, Sir T. Bromley.

Lord Privy Seal—Sir John Russell, eventually made Earl of Bedford.

Bishop of Durham—Tunstall.

Witness of the Will—Sir E. Seymour, Earl of Hertford (made Duke of Somerset and Protector).

President of the Council—Paulet Lord St. John of Basing (made Earl of Wiltshire, eventually Marquis of Winchester).

Lord High Admiral—Viscount Lisle (made Earl of Warwick, eventually Duke of Northumberland).

Master of the Horse—Sir Anthony Browne.

Secretary of State—Sir William Paget (witness of the Will).

Court of Augmentations—Sir Edward North.

Chief Gentlemen of Henry's Privy Chamber—Sir Wm. Herbert (eventually made Earl of Pembroke), Sir A. Denny (witnesses of the Will).

Treasurer of Calais—Sir E. Wotton.

Dean of Canterbury—Dr. Wotton.

TWELVE PRIVY COUNCILLORS NOMINATED AS ASSISTANTS

Earl of Arundel—(No particular religion).

Earl of Essex—Parr (made Marquis of Northampton) (no particular religion).

Solicitor-General—Richard Rich (made Baron Rich).

Vice-Chancellor—Sir Anthony Wingfield.

Household Treasurer—Sir Thomas Cheyney (made Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports).

Controller—Sir John Gage.

Secretary of State—Sir Wm. Petre (Papist).

Chancellor of the Exchequer—Sir John Baker (also Speaker of the House of Commons).

Ambassador in Scotland—Sir Ralph Sadleir (keen Protestant).

Vice-Admiral—Sir Thomas Seymour (made Lord Seymour of Sudeley and Lord High Admiral, no particular religion).

A tool of Henry VIII.—Sir Richard Southwell.

Master of the Mint—Sir Edmund Peckham (strong Papist).

IV

THE EXECUTORS

YOUNG Edward's worst inheritance was the body of unprincipled second-rate politicians, named in the Will as Henry's sixteen executors and twelve assistants to the executors. They all became members of the Council, and may, therefore, be discussed as one body. There were various degrees of demerit among them.

The careers of the two uncles have already been referred to, and that of Dudley (Viscount Lisle) will be discussed later on, when he became the most powerful member of the Council. For the moment the next most important executor was the Secretary of State, who was conspiring with Hertford to upset the intentions of the Will.

William Paget was born in 1505, at Wednesbury, and educated at St. Paul's School and Trinity Hall, Cambridge. He was admitted into the household of Dr. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who sent

WILLIAM, FIRST LORD PAGET.

From an Engraving by H. Robinson after the Painting by Holbein.

him to study in Paris. Afterwards he was sent to France to collect opinions respecting the divorce. In 1532 he became Clerk of the Signet, and in 1534 he went on a mission to the Elector of Saxony. He was knighted in 1537 and received a grant of arms, his family not having previously been entitled to bear coat armour. In 1540 he was Clerk to the Privy Council and was sent as Ambassador to France to explain the death of Catherine Howard. He became Secretary of State in 1543, and a Member of the Council; and in 1546 he negotiated the peace with France. A witness of Henry's will, Sir William Paget was supposed to know the departed tyrant's wishes especially as regards the promotions in the peerage, and this gave him considerable influence at first. Paget is mainly responsible for the protectorate, and he identified himself with the interests of Hertford. He was among the most insatiable robbers of State property, but otherwise an able diplomatist, moderate and humane.

Sir William Herbert was perhaps, after Dudley, the ablest man in the Council. He was an illegitimate son of William Herbert, the last Earl of Pembroke of that name. He married a sister of Queen Catherine Parr, and had been in a position

to receive grants of Church property, including Wilton, thus amassing great wealth. He was an able soldier, an unscrupulous intriguer, and a great robber of public property. As esquire of the body to Henry he was a witness to the Will.

Denny, the other witness of the Will, was Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Henry. But he did not long survive his master.

John Russell was at first a Gentleman of the Chamber, and afterwards a very busy diplomatist. He was at Tournay with Henry, and was sent to negotiate at Rome and with Charles V., being present at the battle of Pavia. He was appointed Controller of the Household in 1538 and Lord Privy Seal in 1543. He obtained grants of Tavistock, and much other Church property, and by right of his wife Anne, daughter of Sir Guy Sapcote, he got Chenies in Buckinghamshire. Russell was an able diplomatist, a very astute time-server, ruthless and cruel when such conduct served his ends, and as great a robber as the others.

Lord Parr of Kendal was the brother of Catherine Parr. He was called Earl of Essex by right of his wife, the heiress of the Bourchiers, Earls of Essex, whom he was trying to divorce. He was a selfish, unprincipled man of no ability,

JOHN RUSSELL, EARL OF BEDFORD.

From an Engraving by H. Robinson after the original in the collection of the Duke of Bedford.

who always followed a leader, first Thomas Seymour then Dudley.

Paulet, Lord St. John of Basing, was a greater time-server than Russell, and contrived to hold office through four reigns. His wretched motto was ' Ortus sum ex salice non ex quercu.'

The Earl of Arundel was the only member of the old nobility on the Council. But he was a politician with no principles, and no intelligible aims. He seemed to intrigue without any definite object, and was quite useless as a statesman. As a time-server he was a rival to Russell or Paulet.

The Chancellor was Thomas Wriothesley, grandson of John Wrythe, the Garter King of Arms to Richard III., and son of the York Herald. He had been a diplomatist and secretary of State, and in 1544 was created Lord Wriothesley of Titchfield. He was Knight of the Garter, and Lord Chancellor. He had been gorged with Church property in Hampshire, including Titchfield Abbey, and was a man after Henry's own heart, cruel, unscrupulous, and subservient. Although himself a papist, he induced Mary to sign a recantation declaring the Pope a usurper, and herself a bastard. He tortured Anne Askew with his own hands,

after the Lieutenant of the Tower had refused, in disgust, to take part in the business.

Richard Rich was such a man as Wriothesley. Nothing worse can be said. The founder of his family was a London tradesman of the same name. He was married to the daughter of a grocer named Jenks. Rich was Solicitor-General. He inveigled Sir Thomas More into a private conversation, and then produced what he had said as evidence against him at his trial. He helped Wriothesley to torture Anne Askew.

Richard Southwell was another such base, treacherous wretch. His grandfather was Sir Richard Southwell of Barham Hall in Suffolk. His father, Sir Francis, was Auditor of the Exchequer. Richard succeeded to great wealth, and was brought up with the Earl of Surrey. In 1531 he got a pardon for being concerned in a murder, being fined 1000*l.* He was active in the proceedings against monasteries under Cromwell, and in 1538 he became Receiver to the Court of Augmentations. He was knighted in 1542, and became a base tool of Henry VIII. In that capacity he came forward as a false witness against his friend the Earl of Surrey, to whom he owed much. He shared in the plunder of the Howards.

Sir Anthony Wingfield, of a good Suffolk family, had held offices in Henry's household, yet, comparatively speaking, he was an honest man. The same may be said of Sir Thomas Cheyney, Treasurer of the Household, and of Sir John Gage, the Controller.

Sir Anthony Browne, Master of the Horse, was descended from a knight of the same names, who was created K.B. at the coronation of Richard II. He married Alice, daughter of Sir John Gage, and died in 1548, leaving a son with the same names as owner of his fine house at Cowdray in Hampshire. Sir Anthony was a papist, but he supported Hertford in his measures to obtain the protectorate.

Sir Ralph Sadleir was born in 1507, and owed his rise to Cromwell, into whose household he was received. He was also a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber; and employed on missions to Scotland, which he conducted with sound judgment and ability. In 1542 he was knighted, and became Secretary of State. Sir Ralph was a trustworthy politician, a good writer, and a valiant soldier; quite an exception among the officials employed by Henry VIII.

Edmund Peckham had been admitted, when

quite young, as a clerk in the King's counting-house, and in 1524 was appointed Cofferer of the Household, in 1526 Clerk of the Green Cloth. In 1542 he was knighted, and in 1546 became Master of the Mint, with a house in Blackfriars. He also had a house and estate at Denham in Buckinghamshire. Peckham was a strong papist, but comparatively an honest official.

The Church was represented on the Council by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Durham.

Cranmer, with all his faults, was a very lovable character. He was weak and vacillating, and unduly subservient or he never could have worked so long with Henry. He acquiesced in the cruel acts of persecution, and even sent men to the stake for their beliefs, with his own still unformed. He seldom ventured to remonstrate, and when he did, as in the case of Cromwell, his intervention was feeble and deferential. Now his work was before him. He was about to undertake and complete labours of such value to posterity that they have rendered the reign of Edward VI. illustrious for all time.

Dr. Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, was a good and kind-hearted man, an experienced diplomatist,

and though a concealed papist, he took part in editing the English translation of the Bible.

Montagu, the Chief Justice, and Bromley, representing the legal profession, were neutral.

Sir Edward North, of the Court of Augmentations, and Sir John Baker, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, seem to have worked diligently in their departments. Baker was also Speaker of the House of Commons.

Sir E. Wotton, Treasurer of Calais, and Dr. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury, were diplomatists.

The Secretary of State was Sir William Petre, who, by always taking the winning side, kept in favour through four reigns. Son of John Petre of Turbigan in Devonshire, Petre was born at Exeter, and educated at Exeter College, Oxford. He became a Doctor of Law and was employed by Cromwell on the commission for the visitation of monasteries. As a reward he got a slice of the plunder, and in 1544 was made Secretary of State. When Catherine Parr was Regent, he was one of her Council. In 1546 Petre had special licence to retain twenty men besides menial servants, and to give them liveries and cognizances. He obtained Ingatestone in Essex, and a dozen other manors. His first wife was Gertrude, daughter of Sir John

Tyrrel of Worley, his second Anne, daughter of Sir W. Browne, Lord Mayor. Petre was a diligent and valuable public servant.

The other Secretary was Sir Thomas Smith, but he was not yet on the Council. Born at Saffron Walden in 1512, Thomas Smith was of Queens' College, Cambridge, and became a Fellow in 1531. He worked with Cheke at Greek pronunciation, and in 1539 travelled in France and Italy. In 1542 he became Professor of Civil Law, and was tutor to Edward Earl of Oxford. In 1547 he entered Hertford's household, and eventually became Steward of the Stannaries, Provost of Eton, Dean of Carlisle, and Secretary of State. Sir Thomas Smith was a learned and very able statesman, and one of the few thoroughly honourable and fearless public men that the age produced. He married Philippa, daughter of Sir John Hamden, whose jointure was Hill Hall, where he lived.

These were the Councillors who were destined by Henry for the government of England during the minority. Almost all were plunderers of public property, neither honour nor principle could be expected from politicians who were in favour with such a man. Two Bishops, Gardiner and Thirlby, who were on Henry's Council, were

SIR THOMAS SMITH, KT.

From an Engraving by James Fittler, A.R.A.

omitted in the list of executors, and all the old nobility except Arundel. Grey, Marquis of Dorset, who had married Henry's niece, Frances Brandon, was another notable omission.

Hertford and Paget kept the death secret for two days, while they prepared their measures before summoning the executors, and Sir Anthony Browne, the Master of the Horse, assured Hertford of his support.

V

THE CORONATION

It was a wintry morning. Edward and his sister Elizabeth were just sitting down to their studies at the manor house of Hertford,[1] when two horsemen galloped up to the door. These were the Earl of Hertford and Sir Anthony Browne, Master of the Horse. Both children were taken to Enfield that afternoon. Next day they were told that their father was dead, and Edward proceeded to the Tower with his uncle. He was knighted by the Earl of Hertford, and proclaimed King by the heralds at Westminster on January 31, 1547. His age was nine years, two months, and twenty days.

The ruthless executioner was dead, and for a time his executions, or any imitations of them, were dead and buried. The young King's accession brought mercy in its train. Edward's aged

[1] Holinshed says Hatfield.

godfather, the Duke of Norfolk, was saved by a hair's breadth.

Edward's first act was to write a Latin letter to his sister Elizabeth, lamenting their separation.[1]

On the day that the King was proclaimed, the executors were summoned to meet in the Council Chamber at the Tower. Thence they adjourned to the King's presence, doing homage, and forming themselves into his Privy Council of twenty-eight members. They were to meet again next day, Hertford and Paget actively canvassing during the interval. On February 1 the Council met, and Paget proposed that Hertford should be Protector of the realm and Governor of the King's person during his minority. Wriothesley, the Chancellor, strongly opposed the measure as contrary to the late King's will. It was probably illegal without the consent of Parliament. But the rest of the Council agreed. Shortly afterwards the Protector usurped still greater powers with approval of only a portion of the Councillors.

Paget then proceeded to inform the Council of what he said were the intentions of the late King respecting promotions and creations in the peerage. In accordance with his announcement the Protector

[1] Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* II. Pt. ii. p. 510.

was made Duke of Somerset, Lord High Treasurer, and Earl Marshal. John Dudley Viscount Lisle received the title of Earl of Warwick in consequence of his descent from the Beauchamps Earls of Warwick, and was appointed Lord Great Chamberlain. Wriothesley, the Chancellor, was created Earl of Southampton. Parr became Marquis of Northampton, and Paulet, Earl of Wiltshire. Rich and Sheffield were created Barons. Sir Thomas Seymour became Lord Seymour of Sudeley and Lord High Admiral, and was given the castle and estate of Sudeley in Gloucestershire, which was crown property. The late King had given him Holt in Cheshire, and a large house near Temple Bar, which was called Seymour Place.

Wriothesley had been the only Councillor who protested against the Protectorate. Soon afterwards, on the excuse that he had committed some trifling informality, Somerset deprived him of the Chancellorship, which was given to Rich, and expelled him from the Council. He was allowed to resume his seat in the following year.

Edward was at the royal lodgings in the Tower for three weeks while arrangements were made for the coronation. The young King, on the

auspicious occasion, created forty Knights of the Bath, and fifty-five Knights of the Carpet.[1] The former included five of his old playmates, Henry Brandon Duke of Suffolk, his brother Charles, Edward Seymour, Lord Talbot, and Lord Maltravers.

On February 19 King Edward rode through the City to Westminster 'in most royal and goodly wise.' Sir Christopher Barker,[2] Garter King of Arms, arranged the pageant. In the picture of the procession[3] Garter is riding with the Lord Mayor, between the Protector Somerset and the Emperor's Ambassador. There were various shows and diversions on the road. At the Conduit, in Chepe, Valentine and Orson were exhibited. Further on were Sapience and the seven liberal sciences, who made several goodly speeches. Next the play of Jason was shown, and other diverting exhibitions. On reaching St. Paul's an Aragonese was seen to descend from the roof by a rope which

[1] Now called Knights Bachelors.

[2] Sir Christopher Barker was Garter from 1536 to 1550. He died in January 1550, and was succeeded by Sir Gilbert Dethick, 1550 to 1584.

[3] The picture of Edward VI.'s procession through the City was at Cowdray. It was burnt in 1793; but previously the Society of Antiquaries had caused an engraving to be taken from it, which was published in 1797.

was made fast to an anchor by the Dean's gate. At last the Palace of Westminster[1] was reached, and the tired boy was got to bed in preparation for the great ceremony of the morrow.

Edward VI. was the legal and rightful King of England by Act of Parliament. He had no other right. Since his time all our sovereigns have reigned by the same title and no other, whatever they may have pretended. Yet Edward had Plantagenet blood in his veins and was of legitimate royal descent through his mother.

On February 20, 1547, the little nine year old King went in procession to Westminster Abbey to be crowned. A stage or platform had been erected in front of the high altar. The Archbishop of Canterbury showed the King to the people at the four corners of the stage, saying: 'Sirs: Here I present King Edward, rightful and undoubted inheritor by the laws of God and man to the royal dignity and crown imperial of this realm, whose consecration, inunction, and coronation is appointed by all the nobles and peers of this land to be this day. Will ye serve at this time and give your good wills and assents to the same consecration, inunction, and corona-

[1] Whitehall, always called Westminster by Edward.

tion as by your duty and allegiance ye are bound to do?' The people shouted, 'Yea! Yea! Yea! King Edward! King Edward! King Edward!'

The Archbishop, with the Bishops of London and Winchester, then led the King to the high altar. Then the King, after prayer, offered a pall and 24*l.* in gold, which was delivered to him by the Lord Great Chamberlain. The little boy then fell grovelling before the altar, while the Archbishop said over him the collect 'Deus humilium.' He then rose and went to his chair before the altar.

The Archbishop then proceeded to administer the oaths. 'Will you grant to the people of England the laws and liberties of this realm?' The King replied, 'I grant and promise.' 'You shall keep to the Church and people holy peace and concord.' He answered, 'I shall keep.' 'You shall make to be done, to the best of your strength and power, equal and rightful justice in all your dooms and judgments with mercy and truth.' He answered, 'I shall do.' 'Do you grant to make no laws but such as be to the good of the commonwealth, and that the same shall be made by consent of the people?' He said, 'I grant and promise.'

Then the King was led to the altar where he

made a solemn oath upon the sacrament to observe the premises, in these words: 'The things which I have before promised I shall observe and keep, so God help me.'

The King again grovelled before the high altar, while the Archbishop, kneeling by his side, began the 'Veni Creator Spiritus.' Then he said the 'invocamus' over the King.

The King was next set in the chair again, and, after a short rest, he was unclothed by the Lord Chamberlain to his coat of crimson satin, which, and also his shirt, was opened before and behind, on the shoulders and elbows, to be anointed. During the anointing Herbert and Denny held a pall over him. Kneeling, the Archbishop anointed the King in the palms of the hands, saying 'Unguo manus,' with the collect 'Respice Omnipotens Deus'; then on breast, back, elbows, and head, making the sign of the cross and saying 'Ungatur caput'; 'ungantur scapulæ.' All the time the choir was singing 'Ungebant regem,' and the psalm 'Domine in virtute tua lætabitur Rex.' When the anointing was finished, Dr. Benson, the Dean of Westminster, who had formerly been the Abbot, came forward to dry all the places with wool.

The Archbishop then put on the King's hands a pair of linen gloves, a white tabard shaped like a dalmatic, and on his head a coif. Then the King took a sword and offered it to God, laying it on the altar, and taking it off again, to be redeemed from the Dean for 100 shillings and borne naked before the King.

Next followed the crowning. Edward, seated on the throne, was crowned by the Archbishop with the crown of St. Edward; all the peers and bishops doing homage, holding up their hands and saying: 'I become your liege man of life and limb and of earthly worship and faith and truth. I shall bear with you to live and die against all manner of folks, as I am bound by my allegiance and by the laws and statutes of this realm, so help me God and Allhallows.' Then each kissed the King's left cheek; and on their knees, holding up their hands, they said: 'We offer to sustain you and your crown with our lives and lands and goods against all the world. God save King Edward!'

This concluded the solemn ceremony of the coronation. The King heard high mass, and departed crowned, in procession to the Palace of Westminster.

The coronation was followed by a feast in Westminster Hall, when the Champion, Sir R. Dymoke, threw down his glove. It was a long trying ordeal for a boy of nine years and a few months. On the following days there were jousts against all comers, and Lord Sudeley gave a grand entertainment to the competitors at Seymour Place.

After the coronation Edward returned to his studies with his tutors and young Barnaby. There was a change in his life notwithstanding. The royal household was kept up, with its numerous officers, henchmen or pages and attendants. The King's homes were now the palaces of Westminster, Hampton Court, Windsor, Greenwich, and Sheen. His favourite residence was in the country, at Oatlands in Surrey.

The Protector Somerset and his Duchess made the boy's life very uncomfortable. He was stinted in money, made to say for what he wanted it, and given half the sum he asked for. He was under constant espionage, and his Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber were adherents of Somerset, elderly intriguers who were not companions in any sense. The Chief Gentleman was Somerset's brother-in-law, Sir Michael Stanhope, who wore a medal

suspended round his neck by a blue ribbon as a badge of office. The others were Sir John Thynne, the Steward of Somerset's household, Sir Richard Blount, Sir Henry Gage, Sir Maurice Berkeley. The termagant Duchess caused much trouble in the household. Among other disturbances she had a quarrel with the wife of Edward's tutor, and brought false accusations against Sir Thomas Smith. She and the Protector, who was completely under her influence, prevented Edward from seeing the few relations he cared for, his favourite uncle, Thomas Lord Sudeley, his kind stepmother, the Queen Dowager, and his sister Elizabeth, who was living with them. It was a great pleasure to young Edward when he heard of the marriage of Lord Sudeley with Catherine Parr, and he wrote them a letter with warm congratulations. But the Duchess hated them, because she had been foiled in an attempt to take precedence of the Queen Dowager. The Protector kept from Catherine the jewels left her by the late King, seized her favourite manor of Fausterne, and offended her in other vexatious ways. There can be little doubt that the malice of the Duchess is to be seen in these petty annoyances. Edward's love for his relatives increased her hatred. The

young King was exposed to much annoyance and discomfort, and certainly had every reason to dislike his elder uncle and his aunt-in-law.

KNIGHTS OF THE GARTER OF KING EDWARD VI

Creations before 1547

Sir T. Howard (Duke of Norfolk).
Sir F. Talbot (Earl of Shrewsbury).[1]
Sir E. Seymour (Earl of Hertford).[1]
Sir J. Dudley (Viscount Lisle).[1]
Sir H. Fitzalan (Earl of Arundel).[1]
Sir Wm. Parr (Baron Parr of Kendal).[1]
Sir Wm. Paulet (Baron St. John of Basing).[1]
Sir Wm. Kingston (Constable of the Tower).
Sir Anthony Browne (Master of the Horse).[1]
Sir T. Cheyney (Lord Warden of Cinque Ports).[1]
Sir John Gage (Constable of the Tower).
Sir Anthony Wingfield (Captain of the Guard).[1]
Sir Anthony St. Leger (Lord Deputy, Ireland).
Sir T. Wriothesley (Chancellor).[1]

Creations by Edward VI

Sir Henry Grey (Marquis of Dorset).
Sir Thomas Seymour (of Sudeley).[1]
Sir E. Stanley (Earl of Derby).
Sir F. Hastings (Earl of Huntingdon).
Sir H. Nevill (Earl of Westmorland).[1]
Sir G. Brooke (Baron Cobham).[1]
Sir T. West (Lord De la Warr).
Sir E. Fiennes (Lord Clinton).[1]

[1] Of the Council.

Sir T. Darcy (Lord Darcy of Chich).[1]
King Henry II. of France.
Sir Wm. Paget (Lord Paget).[1]
Sir Wm. Herbert (created Earl of Pembroke).[1]
Sir Andrew Dudley, *alias* Sutton (Dudley's brother).

FORTY KNIGHTS OF THE BATH OF KING EDWARD VI., MADE ON FEBRUARY 20, 1547, BEFORE THE CORONATION

Sir Henry Brandon (Duke of Suffolk).
Sir Charles Brandon (Lord Charles).
Sir John Vere (Earl of Oxford).
Sir T. Butler (Earl of Ormonde).
Sir H. Fitzalan (Lord Maltravers).
Sir G. Talbot (Lord Talbot).
Sir E. Stanley (Lord Strange).
Sir Wm. Somerset (son of Earl of Worcester).
Sir Edward Seymour (Hertford's son).
Sir Gregory Cromwell (Lord Cromwell).
Sir John Grey (brother of Marquis of Dorset).
Sir F. Hastings (Earl of Huntingdon).
Sir H. Scrope.
Sir T. Windsor (Lord Windsor).
Sir F. Russell (son of Lord Russell).
Sir Anthony Browne of Cowdray.
Sir R. Devereux (Lord Ferrers of Chartley).
Sir Henry Seymour (the King's uncle).
Sir John Gates (Chancellor of the Duchy).
Sir Anthony Cooke (one of the King's tutors).
Sir A. Umpton.
Sir Valentine Knightley.
Sir G. Norton.
Sir Robert Lytton (of Knebworth).

[1] Of the Council.

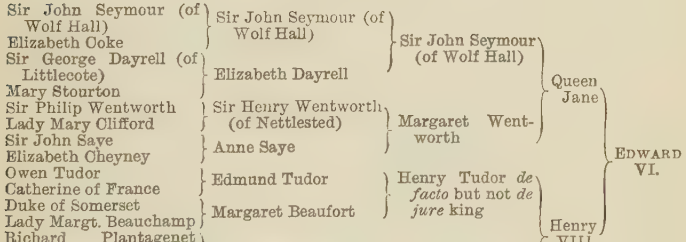
Sir George Vernon of the Peak.
Sir J. Porte of Derbyshire.
Sir T. Josselyn.
Sir Edmund Molyneux.
Sir Christopher Barker (Garter).
Sir James Holles of Notts.
Sir William Babthorpe.
Sir T. Brudenell.
Sir T. Nevill of the Holt.
Sir Angelo Marini (an Italian).
Sir J. Holcroft.
Sir John Cuyt.
Sir H. Tyrrell.
Sir Wm. Sharrington (Mint Master).
Sir Wimond Carew.
Sir Wm. Sneath.

FIFTY-FIVE KNIGHTS OF THE CARPET, MADE ON FEBRUARY 20, 1547

Sir Anthony Aunger.
Sir John A. Ryce.
Sir Barneston.
Sir Thomas Bell.
Sir Roger Blewit.
Sir Urien Brereton.
Sir George Brochet.
Sir John Butler.
Sir John Butter.
Sir Philip Calthorp.
Sir John Cary.
Sir Richard Cotton.
Sir Maurice Denis.
Sir Harry Doyley.
Sir Drury.
Sir Thomas Dyer.
Sir Thomas Fitzherbert.
Sir John Godsalve.
Sir Thomas Gravener.
Sir Thomas Grey.
Sir John Greville.
Sir Rice Gryffyth.
Sir Roger Guilford.
Sir Thomas Guilford.
Sir Thomas Hanmer.
Sir George Harper.
Sir Anthony Heveningham.
Sir Thomas Hollers.
Sir William Hollers.
Sir John Horsey.

Sir John Horsey.
Sir Francis Inglefield.
Sir Thomas Kemp.
Sir Robert Langley.
Sir Rowland Martin.
Sir John Mason.
Sir Thomas Nevill.
Sir Thomas Newman.
Sir John Norton.
Sir William Pickering.
Sir George Pierpoint.
Sir William Rainsford.
Sir John Radcliff.
Sir Edward Rogers.
Sir John Salisbury.
Sir John Savage.
Sir Walter Savage.
Sir John Skelton.
Sir John Spring.
Sir Humphrey Stafford.
Sir William Stanley.
Sir John Vaughan.
Sir John Wentworth.
Sir John Windham.
Sir Thomas Wroth.

SEIZE QUARTIERS OF EDWARD VI., MOST ENGLISH OF OUR KINGS



THE OLD NOBILITY (30)

Name	Title	Eldest Son's Title	Names of Wives
	Duke		
Howard . .	Norfolk, K.G. (died 1554)	Surrey (beheaded 1547)	Lady Elizabeth Stafford.
	Marquis		
Grey . . .	Dorset, K.G. (died Feb. 25, 1554)[2]	—	Lady Frances Brandon (King's cousin, mother of Lady Jane Grey).
	Earls		
Fitzalan . .	Arundel, K.G. (died 1580)[2]	Maltravers .	1. Lady C. Grey; 2. Mary Arundel.
Bourchier . .	Bath (died 1560)[1] .	Fitzwarine[2]	Eleanor, daughter of G. Manners, Lord Roos.
Clifford . .	Cumberland (died 1569)	Clifford . .	Lady Eleanor Brandon (in the succession).
Courtenay . .	Devon (under attainder in the Tower, 1537–53)	—	—
Stanley . .	Derby, K.G. (died 1574)[1]	Strange (died 1593)	Lady Margaret Clifford (daughter of the King's cousin Eleanor).
Hastings . .	Huntingdon, K.G. (died 1561)[1 2]	Hastings .	Lady Catherine Pole (rightful heir to the throne by hereditary succession).
Percy . . .	Northumberland (under attainder, restored 1554)	—	—
Vere . . .	Oxford (died 1568)[2]	Bolbeck .	1. Lady Dorothy Nevill; 2. Margery Golding.
Talbot . .	Shrewsbury. K.G.[2]	Talbot . .	Mary, daughter of Lord Dacre of Gillesland.
Nevill . . .	Westmorland, K.G. (died 1563)[2]	—	Lady Catherine Stafford.
Grey . . .	Kent (in those days he was too poor to take up the title)	—	—

[1] Sat on trial of Somerset.
[2] Signed Edward's scheme for the succession of Jane Grey.

THE OLD NOBILITY (30)

Names	Titles	Names of Wives
	Barons	
Neville . .	Abergavenny (1552 sent to prison for striking the Earl of Oxford in the presence) [1]	Lady Frances Manners.
Same as title .	Audley [1] . .	—
,, .	Berkeley (born 1534) .	A minor.
Fiennes . .	Clinton (Lord Admiral) [2]	Ursula Stourton.
Brooke . .	Cobham (ninth baron; died 1558) [1] [2]	Anne, daughter of Lord Bray (eight sons).
Same as title .	Dacre of Gillesland .	Lady Elizabeth Talbot.
West . .	De la Warr, K.G. (died 1554)	Elizabeth, daughter of Sir J. Bonville.
Sutton . .	Dudley (seventh baron; ruined; died 1553)	—
Devereux .	Ferrers of Chartley (created Viscount Hereford)	Lady Mary Grey.
Same as title .	Stafford (restored in blood 1547)	Lady Ursula Pole.
,, .	Grey de Wilton (died 1562)	Lady Mary Somerset.
,, .	Grey of Powys (died 1552)	—
,, .	Lumley (restored in blood 1547)	Died childless.
Blount . .	Mountjoy . . .	A minor.
Same as title .	Ogle	Joan Mauleverer.
,, .	Stourton (died 1557; father of the murderer) [1]	Elizabeth Dudley.
,, .	Zouch (died 1552) [1] .	Dorothy, daughter of Alderman Capel.
,, .	Conyers (? Tudor creation)	Lady Maud Clifford.

[1] Sat on trial of Somerset.

[2] Signed for Jane Grey's succession.

TUDOR CREATIONS (20)

Names	Titles	Names of Wives
	Earls.	
Seymour . .	Hertford . . .	1. Catherine Fillol ; 2. Anne Stanhope.
Manners . .	Rutland (died 1562) [1] .	1. Lady Margaret Neville ; 2. Bridget Hussey. S. P.
Ratcliffe . .	Sussex (created 1529 ; died 1566) [1]	
Somerset . .	Worcester (died 1549) [1 2]	Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Anthony Browne.
	Barons.	
Same as title .	Bray (died 1557) [1 2] .	Lady Anne Talbot. S.P.
,, .	Cromwell (died 1551) [1] .	Lady Elizabeth Somerset.
,, .	Ever or Eure (died 1548) [1]	Eliz., daughter of Lord Willoughby d'Eresby (son Ralph married Margaret Bowes).
,, .	Borough [1] . . .	—
Nevill . .	Latimer (died 1577) .	Lady Lucy Somerset.
Same as title .	Mordaunt (died 1562) .	Elizabeth, daughter of Sir H. Vere.
Parker . .	Morley (died 1555) .	Alice, daughter of Sir J. St. John of Bletso.
Same as title .	Sandys of ye Vine (died 1558)	Elizabeth, daughter of G. Manners (Lord Roos).
,, .	Vaux (died 1562) [1] .	Elizabeth, daughter of Sir T. Cheyney.
,, .	Windsor (died 1558) [1 2].	1. Margt. Sambourne ; 2. Eliz. Cowdrey.
,, .	Wentworth (died 1551 ; son died 1590) [1 2]	Margaret, daughter of Sir A. Fortescue (many children).
,, .	Wharton (died 1566) [1] .	Eleanor, daughter of Sir Brian Stapylton.
Dudley . .	Lisle (Viscount) [1 2] .	Jane Guilford.
Paulet . .	St. John of Basing [1 2] .	Elizabeth Capel, daughter of Alderman Capel.
Same as title .	Parr of Kendal [1 2]. .	Daughter of Bourchier, Earl of Essex.

[1] Sat on trial of Somerset.

[2] Signed for Jane Grey's succession.

CREATIONS DURING THE MINORITY. BY THE COUNCIL.

Promotions.

Names	Former Titles	Titles given by Themselves
Dudley	Viscount Lisle[1]	Earl of Warwick, February 17, 1547. Duke of Northumberland 1551.
Seymour	Earl of Hertford	Duke of Somerset 1547, and Baron Beauchamp.
Parr	Lord Parr of Kendal[1]	Marquis of Northampton, February 17, 1547.
Paulet	Lord St. John of Basing[1]	Earl of Wilts, February 17, 1547. Marquis of Winchester, October 11, 1551.
Russell	Lord Russell[1 2]	Earl of Bedford, January 17, 1550.
Devereux	Lord Ferrers of Chartley	Viscount Hereford.

Creations (8).

Names	Newly Created Peers	Wives of newly created Peers
Wriothesley	Created Earl of Southampton, February 17, 1547 (died 1550)	—
Herbert	Created Earl of Pembroke, October 11, 1551 (died March 17, 1569)[1 2]	1. Anne Parr; 2. Lady Anne Talbot.
Rich	Created Baron Rich, February 17, 1547[1 2]	Eliz. Jenks (daughter of a London grocer).
Paget	Created Baron Paget of Beaudesert, January 19, 1549 (died 1564)[1]	Anne Preston.
Willoughby	Created Baron Willoughby of Parham, February 17, 1547[1 2]	Eliz. Heneage.
Sheffield	Created Baron Sheffield, February 17, 1547 (slain at Norwich 1549)	Lady Anne Vere.
Darcy	Created Baron Darcy of Chich, April 5, 1551 (died 1560)[1 2]	Lady Eliz. Vere.
Seymour	Created Baron Seymour of Sudeley, February 17, 1547 (beheaded March 20, 1549)	Catherine Parr.

Analysis.

	Old.	*New.*			
Dukes	2	2	59.	Of these in their minority	14. (3 Dukes, 2 Marquises, 3 Earls, 1 Viscount, 5 Barons)
Marquises	—	2			
Earls	11	7			
Viscount	1	—			
Barons	16	18			
	30	29			

[1] Sat on trial of Somerset.

[2] Signed for Jane Grey's succession.

GREAT OFFICERS OF STATE, 1549–1553

Office	Ministers
Lord Chancellor	Dr. Goodrich, Bishop of Ely.[1]
Lord Privy Seal	Russell, Earl of Bedford.[1]
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Sir J. Baker.[1]
Lord Treasurer	Marquis of Winchester.[1]
Court of Augmentations	Sir E. North.[1]
Lord Chamberlain	Marquis of Northampton.[1]
Lord High Admiral	Lord Clinton.[1]
Chancellor of the Duchy	Sir John Gates, K.B.[1]
Lord Deputy for Ireland	Sir James Croft.
Lord Steward	Duke of Northumberland.[1]
Secretaries of State	Sir William Petre.[1]
,,	Sir William Cecil.[1]
,,	Sir John Cheke (1553).
Secretary for the French Tongue	Sir John Mason.[1]
Lord Warden Cinque Ports	Sir Thomas Cheyney.[1]
Clerk of the Council	William Thomas April 19, 1549.
Master of the Mint	Sir E. Peckham.
,, Southwark	Sir J. York.
,, Tower	Sir Martin Bowes.
,, York	Sir G. Gale.
,, Bristol	Sir Wm. Sharrington

Office	Judges, &c.
Speakers, 1547–1553	Sir J. Baker.[1]
,,	James Dyer, K.S.
Garter	Sir Gilbert Dethick.
Chief Justice, King's Bench	Sir Roger Cholmley.
Judges, King's Bench	T. Bromley.[1]
,,	W. Portman.
Chief Justice, Pleas	Sir E. Montagu.[1]
Judges, Pleas	John Hinde.
,,	Sir James Hales.
,,	Sir E. Molyneux.
,,	Wm. Cooke.
Chief Baron	Henry Bradshaw.
Barons	Robert Curzon.
,,	J. Darnell.
,,	E. Sexby.
,,	Rt. Browne.
Attorney-General	Edward Griffin.
Solicitor-General	John Gosnell.
Lord Mayors, 1547.	Sir J. Gresham.
,, 1548.	Sir H. Amcotes.
,, 1549.	Sir Rowland Hill.
,, 1550.	Sir Andrew Jude.
,, 1551.	Sir Richard Dobbes.
,, 1552.	Sir George Barne.
,, 1553.	Sir T. White.

[1] On the Council.

OFFICERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD, 1549–1553

Office	Names	Office	Names
Chamberlain . .	Lord Darcy of Chich.[1]	Schoolmaster of the Henchmen	Clement Adams.
Vice-Chamberlain .	Sir John Gates.[1]	King's Printer .	Richard Grafton.
Master of Jewel House	Sir John Williams.	Master of the Dogs	Cuthbert Vaughan.
Master of ye Wardrobe	Sir Ralph Sadleir.[1]	Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber	Sir John Cheke, Kt.
Master of the Henchmen and Standard-Bearer	Sir George Howard.	,,	Sir Thomas Wroth, Kt.
Treasurer of the Chamber	Sir Wm. Cavendish.	,,	Sir Henry Sydney April 18, 1549.
Controller . .	Sir Anthony Wingfield.[1]	,,	Sir Nich. Throgmorton.
,, .	Sir Richard Cotton.	,,	Barnaby Fitzpatrick (August 15, 1551).
Master of the Horse	J. Dudley, Earl of Warwick.	,,	Lord Strange, K.B.
Yeoman of the Robes	Robert Cecil.	,,	Sir Philip Hoby.[1]
,,	R. Robotham.	,,	Sir Robert Dudley (Chief Carver).
Master of the Revels	George Ferrers.	,,	Sir Henry Nevill (April 18, 1549).
Physician in Ordinary	Dr. Owen.	,,	William Stanley.

[1] Were also on the Council.

VI

RULE OF THE PROTECTOR SOMERSET

The Protector Somerset must be credited with good intentions, and with dislike of the atrocious legislation of his late master. But his head was turned by his elevation, he showed a lamentable want of tact or judgment, treating the Council with disrespect, and seldom consulting them as a body. He ruled by a Committee of the Council of his own selection, consisting of Cranmer, the two time-servers Paulet and Parr, North and Wingfield. As a politician he was vacillating, as an administrator incapable.

The Protector's first political act was to make war on Scotland to enforce a betrothal between Edward and his cousin Mary. Thanks to his generals, Dudley Earl of Warwick and Lord Grey de Wilton, and to a timely charge by Sir Ralph Sadleir, the Protector won a complete victory at the battle of Musselburgh (or Pinkie

EDWARD SEYMOUR, DUKE OF SOMERSET.

From an Engraving by S. Freeman after the Painting by Holbein.

Cleugh) on September 10, 1547, committing great slaughter among the Scots, and incurring their enmity. Mary, in spite of him, was sent to France. Somerset hurried back to London, placing garrisons in Haddington, and a few other fortified places. Warwick remained at Berwick to negotiate. It was an ill-conceived and impolitic adventure, the Protector failing entirely in the object of the war.

The best part of Somerset's work was done in Parliament, in repealing the tyrannical laws of his late master. Rich had become Chancellor, and Sir John Baker, a member of the Council, was Speaker of the House of Commons. Parliament met on November 4, 1547. This Parliament had five sessions, from 1547 to 1553.

All the infamous treason Acts of Henry VIII. were abolished, the treasons specified in the Act of 25 Edward III. alone being retained. The people were once more as safe, in this respect, as in Plantagenet days. Indeed, they were safer. For there were to be two sufficient witnesses, and 5 and 6 Edward VI. enacted that the witnesses must be confronted with the accused.

Next the Act was abolished giving the King's proclamations the force of law.

All the Acts were swept away concerning

religion or opinions, including the atrocious Six Articles Act, and the Act 'De heretico comburendo.' All Henry's measures for imposing restrictions on printing the Bible were abolished. An Act for the relief of the poor was passed, and another Act for checking vagrancy, which, being found too severe, was altered in a subsequent session.

An Act was passed for Communion in both kinds; and another for giving the King tonnage and poundage.

Thus was most of the worst parts of the evil inheritance left by Henry VIII. swept away in one session of Parliament; and this is certainly creditable to the Protector, both as regards sound policy and humanity.

In the session of 1548 an Act allowing the marriage of priests was passed, Lords Morley, Dacre, Windsor, and Wharton protesting. The Liturgy was adopted and the Act of Uniformity passed.

Mary continued to have Mass said in her household. She refused to obey injunctions of the Council while the King was a minor, judging that Somerset would not dare to go to extremities. She refused to allow her chaplain Hopton, her controller Rochester, or her steward Sir F. Ingle-

field, to be examined before the Council. She came to London in the autumn of 1548, and received Lord Sudeley and others at her lodging at St. James's. Somerset continued to persecute her about the Mass in a half-hearted way, and the controversy continued until he was deposed.

The Protector had no idea of constitutional means for securing desirable ends. His wishes were not to be opposed. He went so far as to establish a court of requests in his own house, to review and even reverse the decisions of judges and magistrates. From a statesman of transcendent ability and corresponding influence these proceedings might be tolerated, but such high-handed methods could not long be endured from one whose incapacity was becoming more and more obvious.

Somerset's rapacity in the appropriation of Church property was insatiable, and he proceeded without regard for the feelings of the people. He ordered side altars, rood lofts, and images to be destroyed, and caused inventories of church plate to be made throughout the country, with a view to spoliation. His ambition led him to build a great palace for himself in the Strand, and to provide materials he pulled down two churches

and a chapel. St. Mary-le-Strand and Pardon Church, two parish churches, were destroyed. The cloister of St. Paul's with Holbein's Dance of Death, the chapel to the south with the charnel house, tombs and monuments followed. He even began to pull down St. Margaret's Church at Westminster, but the populace drove his workmen away.

The immediate cause of Somerset's fall is characteristic of him. He was trying to do the right thing in the wrong way, to ride roughshod over the people concerned, without tact or any attempt at conciliation. But the people concerned were the majority of the Council.

The enclosure question, owing to the total neglect of any attempt to settle it since the fall of Wolsey, was becoming more and more serious. It was brought before Parliament by John Hales, the member for Preston.

Hales, owing to an accident, was lame, and was known as 'Club-foot Hales.' He was Clerk of the Hanaper and had received church plunder, but he made good use of it. He converted St. John's Hospital at Coventry, granted to him in 1548, into a free school. He was an honest-hearted patriot, and boldly denounced the enclosures of land. Hales introduced three bills into the House

of Commons, one for rebuilding tenements, another for maintaining tillage, and a third against regrating and forestalling markets. They were all rejected ; but the matter was taken up by Somerset. He appointed a Commission modelled on that of Wolsey, and John Hales was one of the six Commissioners for the midland counties. They were to inquire into all changes since the death of King Richard III. in 1485. But it was too late for peaceful measures to be of any use ; especially without the consent of the Council. The enclosers were determined, and the people were exasperated. Somerset unwisely added fuel to the fire by declaring that the covetousness of the gentry had given the people occasion to rise, and that it was better they should be fighting than perish for lack of living. This was an impossible position for the ruler of a country to take up, and Somerset's fall was inevitable. His rule lasted for two years and a little over eight months.

VII

THE FRATRICIDE

The execution of one of young Edward's uncles by the other is a very wretched story.

After the death of Henry VIII. his widow lived in the jointure house at Chelsea, which was built in 1536. It had a large garden at the back. Here Thomas Lord Seymour of Sudeley used to pay her frequent visits. He was Lord High Admiral with much business to transact, and had a large house near Temple Bar, known as Seymour Place. The Princess Elizabeth was then living with the Queen Dowager.

Sudeley renewed his protestations of love for Catherine Parr, and persuaded her to marry him secretly in May 1547. The marriage was not made known until the end of June. The Somersets were furious, and the Protector commenced a system of vexatious and irritating annoyances, urged on by the malice of his wife. Sudeley took

Catherine's part and was very angry. He was also much aggrieved at being deprived of all authority in the government of his nephew, and even prevented from seeing him. He considered that if his brother was Protector of the realm he ought to be Governor of the King's person.

Sudeley had many friends, and a few enemies. He was kind and considerate to the members of his household, who were devoted to him, notably Nicholas Throgmorton and John Harington. But, as Elizabeth said, though he had much wit, he had no judgment. He romped with that young lady to such an extent that Queen Catherine was obliged to send her away. He was also occupied with more serious affairs. He was as ambitious as his brother, and was resolved to enforce what he considered his right; besides resenting his exclusion from the society of his nephew. The Somersets intended to marry the King to one of their daughters. Sudeley was determined that this arrangement should not take effect. He selected Lady Jane Grey as the future Queen, and persuaded the Marquis of Dorset, by paying him 1000*l.*, to grant the wardship of Jane to himself and the Queen Dowager. The little maiden was born at Bradgate in October 1537, being

exactly the same age as the King. At ten years of age she came to live with Catherine Parr, to whom she became much attached. She went with the Queen to Sudeley Castle in Gloucestershire, and Catherine's little daughter was born there on August 24, 1548. The mother died of fever on the following September 5. Sudeley was absent, and little Lady Jane arranged about the funeral and was the chief mourner.

Sudeley mourned for the loss of his wife, but was much pleased at the birth of a daughter. His mother, old Lady Seymour, took charge of Sudeley's household, and John Harington was sent to Bradgate to obtain the consent of Jane's parents that she should still remain under his wardship. The consent was obtained, and Jane continued in Sudeley's household at Hanworth, or Seymour Place, until his arrest.

King Edward was no more disposed to submit to being forbidden intercourse with his favourite uncle than was that uncle himself. But, in his wretched position, his communications were necessarily secret. His young heart had yearned to his stepmother, and when she died he turned for affection to his uncle Thomas. A page of Edward's Privy Chamber, named John Fowler,

managed to convey messages on little scraps of paper. The Somersets kept him destitute of money, which he often wanted, to reward or pay for services. His needs in this respect were supplied by Sudeley as soon as they were made known. Always injudicious, Sudeley advised his nephew to take upon himself to rule, and prepared a draft for him to sign, addressed to the Parliament and complaining of his treatment by the Protector. But Edward, who had more sense in his little finger than both his uncles put together in their whole bodies, at once saw the impropriety, and declined to sign the draft.

Sudeley proceeded to form a party both within and outside the Council, with a view to advocating his plans, or rights as he held them to be, if necessary, by force. While so engaged he was summoned before the Council and refused to attend. Soon afterwards he was arrested by Somerset's order and sent to the Tower. Somerset's party in the Council was busily engaged in getting up a case. They examined many witnesses, and questioned the Princess Elizabeth, her servants, the Marquises of Northampton and of Dorset, the Earl of Rutland, and many others, even the King himself. Edward answered them quite straightforwardly, for he

and his uncle had done nothing of which they need be ashamed.

At last the enemies of Sudeley on the Council concocted an indictment consisting of thirty-three charges. They may be divided into four groups. First, there are three irrelevant charges; second, eight relating to his communications with the King; third, twelve concerning his intrigues to form a party; and fourth, ten having reference to his conduct in his office of Admiral. The three charges in the first group were, that he married the late Queen privately and too soon after Henry's death, and that he wanted to marry the Lady Elizabeth, charges which involved neither treason nor criminality of any kind.

The charges relating to the King may be summed up as follows: (1) He went about to subvert the position of the Protector by indirect means; (2) got the King to side with him by bribing his attendants; (3) drafted a letter for the King to sign with a view to causing dissension in Parliament; (4) continued his purpose of putting misliking into the King's head; (5) tried to persuade him to take the management of his own affairs; (6) intended to take the King's person into his own hands; (7) told the King that if he lacked anything

he should have it from him ; (8) and promised the King's marriage.

These charges not only did not involve treason, but are evidence of devotion to the King's service. One of them is repeated twice, to spin out the charges—(1) and (4).

The charges relating to Sudeley's intrigues to form a party antagonistic to his brother are twelve in number. He is accused of : (1) speaking to divers of the Council to take his side ; (2) saying that he would make the blackest Parliament that ever was in England ; (3) labouring to induce noblemen and others to go into their counties and make themselves strong ; (4) setting noblemen to countervail other noblemen who would hinder him ; (5) advising certain men to win the favour of land yeomen who might raise men ; (6) making his party stronger by gaining over stewards of noblemen's lands ; (7) retaining many young gentlemen and noblemen above the number allowed by law ; (8) saying that he could raise adherents to the number of 10,000 ; (9) saying that he could get money to pay them for a month ; (10) disclosing secrets and arguing against the decisions of the Council ; (11) storing provisions at Holt ; (12) and

refusing to come to the Council for examination when sent for.

These charges do not amount to treason. Somerset was not the King; indeed, the legality of his position was doubtful. The frivolity of some of the charges shows the shifts to which Somerset was put in getting up a case.

The most serious charges were the ten referring to Sudeley's administration of the Admiral's office: (1) He was accused of neglecting his King's service; (2) of getting the Scilly Islands into his hands, and trying to get Lundy; (3) of supporting Sir W. Sharrington knowing that he had committed treason;[1] (4) of telling the Protector that Sharrington owed him a large sum; (5) of extorting sums of money from merchant vessels; (6) of distributing goods of merchants to his friends and servants; (7) of discouraging the capture of pirates; (8) of letting pirates go free; (9) of ordering goods not to be restored when the Council had ordered their restitution; and (10) of encouraging wrecking. These charges look as if they were got up on the evidence of suborned witnesses. If they had been proved, some of them would have been

[1] Sharrington was pardoned by the Council; so, on their own showing, this was a venial offence.

serious. They would involve Sudeley's dismissal from the office of Admiral and a heavy fine, but not attainder and death.

Somerset's party in the Council came to the Tower to hear Sudeley's answers. He properly refused to be examined by enemies, reserving his defence until he was arraigned before a proper tribunal. Afterwards, fearing that his silence might injure his nephew, he replied to the charges having reference to his intercourse with the King. He said that the facts were true, but that the intentions were innocent. This is exactly what King Edward had said.

Sudeley's brother would not let him have a fair trial. He resolved to get him condemned without trial; and resorted to the odious methods by Bill of Attainder, one of the worst instruments used by Henry VIII. in his judicial murders. The charges were put before both Houses with such evidence as Somerset and his friends had got together for the prosecution, but no defence was heard. The method was disliked, and there were speeches against it, especially in the Commons. But the bill was got through, and Sudeley was at the mercy of his brother.

The Protector could only get half the Council,

including himself, to sign the warrant for execution. The other half did not sign. Lord Seymour of Sudeley was beheaded on Tower Hill on March 20, 1549. The Nemesis would come in six months.

An attempt has been made to free the Protector from responsibility by throwing it upon the Council. It is quite futile. Somerset alone gained by the death of his brother. He must have thought that he profited largely, for Sudeley was quite intractable and would always have been a thorn in Somerset's side. It was not a gain to anyone else. Some of the Protector's friends in the Council may have gratified a private grudge ; others may have been willing to help Somerset to kill his brother ; a few may have believed the evidence, and held it to involve treason. But they did not gain anything. Somerset did. He was then in full power, and could have pardoned without hindrance ; for he would have been supported by over half the Council, and by many friends of Sudeley in both Houses. He alone must bear the whole responsibility.

It must have been shocking, even in those days, to see the fratricide dragging his brother from the home of their aged mother, to slaughter him for his own ends. It is true that Somerset's

character generally inclined him to leniency and moderation. But he was capable of shameful acts of injustice at the instigation of his wife. Such was the disinherison of his eldest son: and in the death of his brother we see the cloven foot under the petticoat of the vindictive Duchess.

The execution of his favourite uncle must have turned King Edward's dislike for the Somersets into a much stronger feeling.

Lady Jane Grey returned to her parents at Bradgate to resume her studies with Dr. Aylmer. The poor little infant of the Queen Dowager was stripped of all her valuables by the grasping Duchess, and sent, without any adequate provision, to Grimthorpe, to be taken charge of by the Duchess of Suffolk, on whom she had no claim. Her selfish uncle Northampton refused the charge.

Old Latimer preached a very cruel and unfeeling sermon about Lord Sudeley's end, probably dictated by resentment at his ministrations being rejected. It is not creditable to the preacher, who had never been in a position to know Sudeley intimately. We have a far more reliable estimate of the ill-fated nobleman's character from one of the devoted members of his household. If there was a plain-spoken and thoroughly honest-minded

man in those days it was John Harington. Certainly no one had better opportunities of forming a judgment. He wrote these lines to place under a portrait of Lord Sudeley, with the approval of Queen Elizabeth.[1]

Of person rare, stronge lymbes and manly shape.
By nature framed to serve by sea or lande,
In friendshippe firme in good state or ill-hap,
In peace headwise, in war skill great, bold hande,
On horse, on foote, in peryl or in playe
None could excell, though manie did assaye.
A subject true to Kynge, a servante great.
Friend to God's truth, and foe to Rome's deceit.
Sumptuous abroad for honour of the lande.
Temp'rate at home, yet kept great state with staye,
And noble house that fed more mouths with meat
Than some advanc'd on higher steps to stand.
Yet against nature, reason, and just lawes,
His blood was spilt, guiltless, without just cause.

[1] Written by John Harington in 1567. *Nugæ Antiquæ*, ii. p. 327.

THOMAS, LORD SEYMOUR OF SUDELEY.

From an Engraving by Thomas Wright after the Painting by Holbein.

VIII

THE FALL OF SOMERSET

The Protector's proceedings respecting the enclosures were too late. The insurrections broke out in several counties before he had expressed his approval of rebellion. In the spring of 1549 there were risings in Norfolk, in the midland counties to resist the enclosure proceedings, and in Devonshire for the restoration of the old religion. The people levelled the hedges, filled up the ditches, tore down the palings, and drove the deer. Warwick's park was ploughed up, and others were treated in the same way. All this was laid to Somerset's charge, and the great majority of the Council felt strong resentment against him. They took the matter into their own hands, and proceeded to put down the insurrections ruthlessly.

Lord Grey de Wilton and Herbert went to the midland counties and crushed the rising, hanging from their own steeples several of the clergy

who had encouraged it. The two generals then went to help Russell in Devonshire, where there was great slaughter of the common people. Russell killed his prisoners and committed great cruelties, for which he received a rebuke from the Protector. The rebellion in Norfolk was more formidable, and was led by Robert Ket, a man of ability. The Council had brought over a troop of Italian horse under Malatesta, and a body of German Lanzknechts; and the incapable Northampton was sent against Ket, with Malatesta, and troops led by Lords Sheffield and Wentworth, Sadleir, Southwell, and Denny of the Council, Sir Gilbert Dethick (Norroy), Sir John Gates, Sir Thomas Paston, Sir Henry Bedingfield, Sir John Cutts, Sir William Waldegrave, Sir John Cornwallis and others, altogether 1500 men. Northampton was defeated and put to flight by Robert Ket at Norwich, Cutts and Cornwallis being taken prisoners, and Lord Sheffield being among the slain.

The Earl of Warwick was on his way to Scotland, where the English garrisons were hard pressed. He was hastily recalled to retrieve Northampton's disaster, and the Lanzknechts were sent to reinforce him. Altogether he mustered 8400 men. Warwick was accompanied by his gallant young sons, the

eldest surviving Viscount Lisle, aged twenty, and his younger brothers Ambrose and Robert. There too were Lord Willoughby of Parham, Lord Grey of Powys, Sir Marmaduke Constable, Sir Thomas Tresham, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir Edmund Knivett. Warwick was the ablest commander of his day; and in a very short time the rebels were defeated and scattered, and complete order restored.

Meanwhile the Protector's rule was becoming more and more ruinous to the country. He lost all the fortified places in Scotland, in September he had blundered into a war with France, in August 1549 he lost Ambleteuse and two other forts near Boulogne. Wars and losses abroad, insurrections at home, high prices and much poverty. The country was on the road to ruin.

Warwick returned from Norfolk on September 14. His town house was then at Ely Place. Russell and Herbert were on their way from Devonshire. These were the three ablest men on the Council. In the previous year one of the old nobility, the Earl of Shrewsbury, had been added to it. Somerset went with the King to Hampton Court on the 18th. The Protector had with him Archbishop Cranmer, Paget, the two Secretaries, Sir Thomas Smith and Petre, his brother-in-law, Sir

Michael Stanhope, Sir John Thynne, who managed his estates, and William Cecil, his private secretary.[1]

In consequence of the gravity of the situation and the state of the country, the members of Council then in London, and some others, met at Ely Place. Many of them had been enraged at Somerset's conduct respecting the enclosures. He had assumed powers beyond what had been conferred by the Council, and had acted in important matters without consulting it. He, therefore, was responsible for the condition of the country. But if, with their eyes open, they continued to retain such a helmsman, the responsibility would become theirs. Warwick, Southampton, Shrewsbury, Rich, the Chancellor, Wiltshire, Southwell, Peckham, Wotton assembled, soon afterwards joined by Sussex, Wentworth, Chief Justice Montagu, and Sir Ralph Sadleir. Much depended

[1] Cecil's grandfather was David Cecil, a water bailiff to Henry VIII. His father, Richard, was a yeoman of the wardrobe. William entered the household of the Duke of Somerset, and was present at the battle of Musselburgh. He became the Protector's private secretary. Cecil thought of his own safety first, the interests of his master a bad second, and his country third. But he cared for all, was a man of great ability and vast industry, and a most valuable public servant. At St. John's, Cambridge, he became the warm friend of Dr. Cheke. After Somerset's fall Cecil was made a Member of Council and Secretary of State. He bowed to the storm under Mary to become Elizabeth's famous Minister.

on the view taken by Herbert and Russell, who were on their way back at the head of their troops, after quelling the Devonshire rising.

The members assembled at Ely House unanimously agreed that Somerset's removal from the protectorate was inevitable. They addressed a letter to him proposing his resignation.

Somerset was taken completely by surprise. On October 4 he sent Secretary Petre to London as his envoy. Petre saw which was the winning side and did not return. Then Somerset lost his head. He began scattering leaflets abusing the Council, and ordered the King's subjects to come armed to Hampton Court to defend him. He sent couriers to Herbert and Russell summoning them to his aid. They replied from Wilton hoping to effect a reconciliation, but naturally they were on the side of the rest of the Council. Somerset next resolved upon a flight to Windsor with the King. It was a castle he might defend. This was in the night of October 6.

Somerset forced young Edward, who was in bed with a bad cough and cold, to start at 10 o'clock, riding through a cold autumn night to Windsor, where nothing was prepared for him. The boy must have seen that his uncle's first

thought was for himself. The ride probably caused permanent injury to his health. Next day he was worse. On the 9th Warwick wrote to Edward's two sisters: 'The Protector has now taken His Majesty to Windsor late in the night, in such sort as many declare that he maketh no great store of him. But God, we trust, will help us to deliver His Majesty out of his cruel and greedy hands.'

Somerset's resistance altered the kindly feeling of the Council at first entertained towards him. Sir Philip Hoby, the diplomatist, arrived at Windsor on the 7th with a letter signed by twelve members of the Council [1] on the same day, returning with replies from Cranmer and Paget. On the 8th Herbert and Russell declared for the Council. Next day Hoby returned with letters signed by thirteen of the Council [2] to the King, Cranmer, and Paget, accusing the Protector. Cranmer and Paget were told that they must either conform or share Somerset's fate. They deserted the Protector and submitted. Cecil appears to have foreseen the storm and to have provided for his

[1] Warwick, Rich, Wiltshire, Northampton, Arundel, Shrewsbury, Cheyney, North, Gage, Sadleir, Southwell, and Petre signed the letter of October 7.

[2] All these signed the letter of October 9 except Warwick, and Baker and Montagu in addition.

own safety. Honest Sir Thomas Smith alone remained staunch. His conduct was bold and generous. When all the others deserted the fallen statesman, he remained loyal to the end:

Among the faithless faithful only he.

On October 12 Sir Anthony Wingfield arrived at Windsor with full powers from the Council. He arrested Somerset and confined him in one of the Norman towers. Next day other members of the Council arrived. Edward's cold was worse. He welcomed them as deliverers. He had been taken from his own friends, and hurried away without any consideration for the state of his health. 'Methinks I am in prison,' he said to them. 'Here be no galleries nor gardens to walk in.' Warwick presented himself to the King, humbly on his knees. He 'explained the order and occasion of their doings,' and the King accepted the explanations in the most gracious manner.

The Duke of Somerset was brought through London as a prisoner, with his mortal enemy Southampton at his side. Sir Thomas Smith, Sir John Thynne, Richard Paladye, the clerk of Somerset's works, his servants Whalley and Wolf, were committed with him, as well as Cecil, for a short time, to save appearances. Paladye, Whalley, and Wolf were released on payment of a fine.

Somerset humbly confessed to all the accusations. He was released on February 6, 1550, on payment of a fine of 10,000*l*., a fraction of his church plunder. At first he had to live at Sion or Sheen, and not to go more than four miles from the house. But on the 18th he received a free pardon. On April 10 Somerset was restored to his seat on the Council. On May 14 he was made a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. On the 27th his property was restored to him. On May 10, 1551, Somerset was made Lord Lieutenant of Buckinghamshire and Berkshire.

The Council had no desire to bear hardly on the Duke. On the contrary their wish was evidently to make his position honourable, and such as was proper for the King's uncle. Least of all did Warwick refrain from showing cordiality and a desire for reconciliation. It would not have been possible to show this more clearly than by arranging a marriage between his handsome and accomplished eldest surviving son, Viscount Lisle, and Somerset's daughter, Lady Anne Seymour.

If Somerset had remained satisfied, and he probably would have done so, but for his intriguing ambitious Duchess, all would have been well.

IX

JOHN DUDLEY

JOHN DUDLEY, Baron de Somerie, Viscount Lisle, Earl of Warwick, and Duke of Northumberland, was a man of mark. He guided the destinies of England for three years and eight months. It was the happiest period of King Edward's short life, and an advancing time for the country. The work done was destroyed by Mary for a time, but only for a time. Yet hitherto historians have dealt out nothing but abuse to this remarkable and very able man. He may have committed many faults in the last three years of his life. He was brought up in a bad school. He was as rapacious as Somerset. But, as has truly been said of the Emperor Tiberius, a man does not live to the verge of old age in high repute, and then suddenly become a monster without a redeeming virtue. This is the picture history draws of John Dudley. It conveys a false impression.

It will be worth while to glance at Dudley's origin. The Suttons were Lords of Sutton on the Trent, near Tuxford in Nottinghamshire. Roland de Sutton married one of the co-heiresses of the great family of Lexington in the time of Henry III., and had two sons, Robert and William de Sutton. Robert was ancestor of the Barons Lexington. William's great-grandson, Sir John Sutton, married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Roger de Somerie, whose wife Hawis was heiress of Gervase de Paganel, Lord of Dudley Castle in Staffordshire. The son, succeeding to Dudley Castle, was summoned to Parliament in 1342 as the first Baron Sutton of Dudley.

The fourth Lord Dudley had two sons, Edmund and John. Edmund continued the line of Lords Dudley. John adopted the name of Dudley instead of Sutton. John Dudley was settled at Atherington in Sussex. Here his son was born, and named Edmund after his uncle Lord Dudley. Edmund Dudley was on the Privy Council of Henry VII., negotiator of the treaty of Boulogne in 1492, and Speaker of one of the usurper's parliaments. He was a lawyer and diplomatist of ability, but was unpopular as the chief adviser in Henry's pettifogging and unjust methods of raising money.

Upwards of 4,500,000*l.* are said to have been amassed for the son to dissipate in wasteful extravagance. Dudley's death has already been discussed.

Edmund Dudley married Elizabeth, representative of the Viscounts Lisle. It is an interesting descent. In 1347 Gerard de Insula left a son, Warine Lord L'Isle, whose heiress married Lord Berkeley. Their daughter married Richard Beauchamp, fifth Earl of Warwick, and their heiress Margaret was the wife of the great Earl of Shrewsbury. The Earl's second son, John Talbot, was created Viscount Lisle of Kingston Lisle, in Berkshire, in the year 1451. His heiress, Elizabeth Talbot, married Sir Edward Grey, son of Edward Grey Lord Ferrers of Groby, descended through the Mowbrays from Edward I., and through the Ferrers from the great families of Clifford, Beauchamp, and Clare.

It may be mentioned that Sir Edward Grey. Viscount Lisle, was a brother of Sir J. Grey, who married Elizabeth Woodville, and uncle of the Marquis of Dorset, so that the Greys and Dudleys were cousins.

Sir Edward Grey, Viscount Lisle, had by Elizabeth Talbot an only child Elizabeth, the wife

of Edmund Dudley, and inheritor of an illustrious descent. On her husband's death she was left with four little children, the eldest not eight years old, John, Andrew, Jerome, and a daughter, afterwards married to Lord Stourton. Lady Dudley, the widowed heiress of Viscount Lisle, married Arthur Plantagenet, one of the illegitimate sons of Edward IV., who was created Viscount Lisle in her right in 1523. He was many years Captain of Calais, and was likely to be a good step-father to the orphans.

John Dudley the eldest had a kind and vigilant guardian in Sir Edward Guilford, whose daughter he afterwards married. Guilford, by petition, obtained a special Act in favour of the Dudley children for the repeal of their father's unjust attainder.

Born in 1504, John Dudley was brought up to the profession of arms. He was in the French campaign of 1524, and was knighted by the Duke of Suffolk in his twentieth year. In 1528 he attended Cardinal Wolsey when he went on an embassy to France, and in 1530 he received the appointment of Master of the Armoury in the Tower. In 1540 Dudley was Master of the Horse to Anne of Cleves, and in the following year we find him a challenger at jousts against all comers.

JOHN DUDLEY, DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

From an Engraving by Thomas Wright after the Painting by Holbein.

The Seymours rose to greatness through their sister, Dudley through his own merits. With nearly twenty years of experience in courts and camps, he had won golden opinions and considerable influence. He made a study of the art of war, especially on the naval side, and Henry VIII., a good judge as regards administrative details, entertained a high opinion of his abilities. On the death of his step-father, Sir John Dudley was created Viscount Lisle in 1543, and advanced to the important dignity of Lord High Admiral. His age was then thirty-nine.

Lord Lisle's first service as Admiral was to convey an army from the Thames to the Scottish coast, and to land it at Leith. Next he took the command at Boulogne in 1545, and beat off the French forces by a bold and well-planned sally.

The French designed a great invasion of England in March 1545. There were assembled at Havre 250 ships and a large army. The country was in danger, and it was upon Lord Lisle that Henry relied. He was appointed General of all the forces by sea; and hoisted his flag on board the great ship of 1000 tons, named the *Harry Grâce à Dieu*. Hired merchant ships, well armed, were fitted out, those from the west country com-

manded by Carews, Chichesters, and Clintons. Henry VIII. himself came to Portsmouth to be within consulting distance while the fleet was at Spithead.

The French were reported off the back of the Isle of Wight, and on July 18 their fleet anchored off Bembridge. The operations under Lisle's direction, which followed, are of peculiar interest because a scheme for naval tactics was then first conceived. The French had squadrons of galleys from the Mediterranean, which attacked the English fleet at anchor at Spithead during a dead calm. But a breeze sprang up, and the fortune of the day was changed. Lisle, taught by this lesson, promptly fitted out a number of oared craft, galleys specially designed, to form the wings of his line of battle. His sailing fleet was in three squadrons: the first consisting of eight ships under Sir Peter Carew with his flag of St. George at the fore; the second under Lisle's immediate command, with his flag at the main of the *Great Harry*, consisted of twelve ships; and the third was composed of smaller armed merchantmen.

There was a disaster at Spithead. A fine ship of 600 tons, the *Mary Rose*, commanded by Sir George Carew, had been imprudently heeled over

with her lower ports open. The water came in by them, and in a moment she capsized and sank.

Lord Lisle had been carefully considering how to force the French fleet at Bembridge to an action. Having matured his plan, he submitted it to Henry at Portsmouth. It came into his mind when a fresh breeze was blowing at Spithead from the west. He consulted the pilots whether, if the wind continued steady and increased to 'a course and a bonnet off,'[1] the French could ride it out where they were at anchor. The pilots thought that they could. Lisle's next point was if the French ships saw the English fleet make sail and stand towards them, would they abide at anchor. The pilots considered that if they did they were lost. They, therefore, thought that the French, in that case, would get under way and abide the attack under small sail; but they must make a good offing to clear the Owers.

Lisle's views coincided with those of the pilots, and the plan would have brought the French to action. But there was delay owing to the necessity for consulting the King. Lisle wrote to him from his flagship on July 21, 1545, and Henry gave his consent. But the French had received warning

[1] Equivalent to a double-reef topsail breeze.

from a spy, and made off. Lisle put to sea with his fleet. Baffled by light winds and calms, it was not until August 15 that he came in sight of the enemy off Shoreham. The Admiral was in great hopes of a decisive action. The French fleet was to windward, so he anchored his ships as a challenge to the enemy. But the French Admiral D'Aunebault declined battle, and fled to Havre. All Lisle's manœuvres were bold and judicious, showing a seamanlike instinct, and he was instrumental in saving England from a French invasion. Peace was signed on June 7, 1546.

Lord Lisle was a member of the Privy Council and one of the executors, and he was created Earl of Warwick in consequence of his descent from the Beauchamps, Earls of Warwick.

During Somerset's protectorate the Earl of Warwick did valuable service. As Lieutenant-General he contributed largely to the victory at Musselburgh, and he put down the insurrection in Norfolk. His naval and other services have been told in some detail, because the general idea of Dudley appears to be that he was an unscrupulous intriguer, as cunning as he was cruel, whose object was to bring poor innocent Somerset to the block. His life did not cover fifty years, and up to his

forty-seventh year he was known as a very able and zealous public servant, a successful commander, and an admiral far above the average of those days. Men do not entirely change their natures at the age of forty-seven.

Dudley was married, in about the year 1530, to Jane, the daughter of his guardian, Sir Edward Guilford. He was blessed with a large family. He lost his eldest son Henry at Boulogne, in a sortie. John, the second, was 'a youth of great hope, and excellently well seen in the art military: one of the mirrors of his age for religion, learning, and military affairs.' The others were Ambrose, Robert, Guilford, and Henry; Charles and Thomas died young. His daughters were Temperance, who never married; Margaret, who died young; Catherine, who married the Earl of Huntingdon, but died childless in 1595; and Mary, the wife of Sir Henry and mother of Sir Philip Sydney.[1] Dudley was a devoted husband, and a most affectionate father.

Canon Dixon, who has gone closer to those times than any one living, thus sums up the character of Dudley:

[1] The ancient title of Lisle passed through the Dudleys, Sydneys, and Shelleys to the present Lord de Lisle and Dudley.

'John Dudley was the ablest man of his time; a consummate soldier, a keen politician, a skilful administrator. Bold, sensitive, magnanimous. At Norwich he bound his officers to conquer or die by the knightly ceremony of kissing one another's swords. He stopped further resistance and slaughter by riding alone into the ranks of the enemy and pledging his word for their lives. He was lenient after victory. He spared the life of Somerset as long as he could. He was a great man.'

THE YOUNG DUDLEYS.

John Dudley, Viscount Lisle, 1549 Earl of Warwick, 1551 Duke of Northumberland; married Jane, daughter of Sir Edward, sister and heiress of Sir Henry Guilford.

I. Sir Henry, slain at Boulogne 1544.

II. John (after 1551 called Earl of Warwick), married Anne Seymour. 'A young man of great hope, and excellently well seen in the art military. One of the mirrors of his age for religion, learning, and military affairs.' He was King Edwards Master of the Horse. He died in prison a few weeks after the execution of his father; childless. Sentenced to death.

III. Ambrose, sentenced to death during the Marian terror. In 1562 Queen Elizabeth made him Earl of Warwick. He first married Anne Whorwood, secondly Elizabeth Talboys, but both died before 1562; thirdly, Anne, daughter of F. Russell, Earl of Bedford; childless.

IV. Robert, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Edward VI. He first married Amy Robsart in 1551. Sen-

tenced to death with his brothers. 1564 created Earl of Leicester. He married secondly Douglas Howard, widow of Lord Sheffield, and had a son, the famous Sir Robert Dudley.[1] He married thirdly Lettice, daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, the Queen's cousin, widow of the first Earl of Essex. He died September 4, 1588.

V. Charles, died young.

VI. Thomas, died young.

VII. Guilford, born 1535. Married in May 1553 to Lady Jane Grey. Slaughtered in the Marian terror February 1554.

VIII. Henry, married to Margaret, heiress of Thomas Lord Audley, Baron of Walden. He was slain at St. Quentin in 1558. His widow married the Duke of Norfolk.

IX. Temperance, never married.

X. Margaret, died young.

XI. Catherine, married Henry Hastings Earl of Huntingdon; childless. She died 1595.

XII. Mary, married to Sir Henry Sydney, faithful friend and Gentleman of the Chamber to Edward VI. Lord Deputy of Ireland under Queen Elizabeth, and K.G. Died 1586. His children were: (1) Sir Philip Sydney, mortally wounded at Zutphen, 1586; (2) Mary, Countess of Pembroke; (3) Robert, created Viscount Lisle, and 1618 Earl of Leicester. He died 1626, leaving (1) Mary, married to Sir Robert Wroth; (2) the second Earl of Leicester, married Lady Dorothy Percy, and had (1) Philip third Earl of Leicester; (2) Henry Earl of Romney; (3) Algernon Sydney, the Patriot, judicially murdered 1683; (4) Dorothy Countess of Sunderland, 'Sacharissa.'

[1] Unjustly kept out of the earldom of Leicester by James I. and his corrupt Judges. Robbed of Kenilworth. He was a great navigator. Lived at Florence.

X

RULE OF THE COUNCIL

On the abolition of the protectorate the Privy Council resumed its legal position as a council of regency with its members administering the various departments of State, and general questions of policy being decided at the Council Board. Somerset ceased to be a member, and four retired, Sir Thomas Smith, Denny, Southwell, and Peckham. The Earl of Southampton died. Arundel and Paget were out for some time, but were eventually restored to their seats.

It was wisely decided that an attempt should be made to have more interests represented on the Council, and especially that the old nobility ought no longer to be left out. Besides Arundel and Shrewsbury, the Marquis of Dorset, the Earls of Westmorland and Huntingdon, Viscount Hereford, and Barons Clinton, Cobham, and Darcy took their seats at the Board. The other new members

were Sir John Gates, Sir Robert Bowes, Dr. Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, who became Lord Chancellor in succession to Lord Rich, the diplomatists Sir Philip Hoby and Sir John Mason, and Sir William Cecil, Petre's new colleague as Secretary of State. The whole number was increased to thirty-five.

There were promotions and creations in the peerage. John Dudley Earl of Warwick became Duke of Northumberland,[1] and Henry Grey Marquis of Dorset was made Duke of Suffolk. Paulet Earl of Wiltshire was promoted to be Marquis of Winchester. Russell was made Earl of Bedford, and Herbert Earl of Pembroke. Paget was Lord Paget of Beaudesert, Darcy Lord Darcy of Chich, Willoughby became Lord Willoughby of Parham, and Lord Ferrers of Chartley received the Viscounty of Hereford. William Cecil, the new Secretary, Dr. Cheke, the King's Tutor, Henry Sydney, one of the Chief Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, received the honour of knighthood.

One of the first proceedings of the Council was to repay themselves for their expenses during the insurrections, a very discreditable and unpatriotic

[1] Percy Earl of Northumberland was then under attainder.

claim to press; with the country on the verge of ruin.

Yet there was a great change for the better. The King was well served by his departmental officials, admirably by his very able diplomatists, with zeal and diligence by his secretaries, with laborious care and enthusiasm by his divines, not so well by his judges. There must necessarily be a guiding head to form the general policy and steer the ship of State; and Northumberland was by far the ablest man on the Council. He was much too wise to seek the title of Protector or any ostensible pre-eminence over his colleagues. His influence gained him real power. He was supported steadily by Pembroke, Shrewsbury, Bedford, Winchester, Suffolk, and Northampton, and the others followed. The policy of the Council in general questions was the policy of Northumberland. Arundel and Paget for a time offered an ineffective opposition. But the master mind was Northumberland's, and for three years and eight months the gallant admiral steered the country as he had commanded the fleet, ably and resolutely according to his lights.

The first need of the country, in the ruined and defenceless condition to which the Protector's

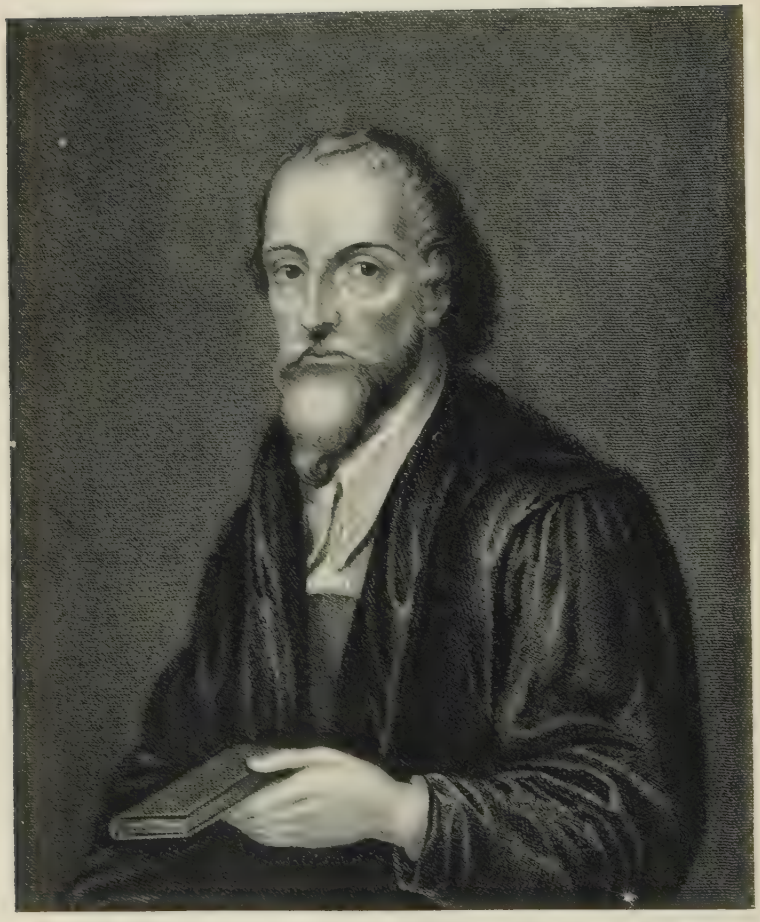
misrule had reduced it, was peace. Northumberland made the first overtures through an Italian, who offered his services, named Antonio Guidotti. Negotiations were opened, and peace was signed on March 24, 1550. Boulogne was a useless encumbrance, and by the former treaty it was to be restored in eight years from 1546. Only half the time had elapsed. It was now agreed to restore it at once, on payment by the French of 40,000 crowns. Hostages were appointed on each side, until the terms of the treaty were fulfilled. This gave occasion for the fêting of Frenchmen in London, and of Englishmen in Paris. The latter included the eldest sons of Dudley, Somerset, Shrewsbury, and Bedford. Sir John Mason, a time-server with enlightened views respecting free trade, went as ambassador to the Court of Henry II.[1] He was succeeded in 1551 by Sir William Pickering, who is described as an able statesman, a ripe scholar, an elegant courtier, and an uncommonly handsome man 'of tall stature and dignified presence.'

[1] Henry II. of France succeeded his father, Francis I., in 1547. Henry was born at St. Germains on March 31, 1518. In October 1543 he married Catherine de Médicis, and had five sons and three daughters. King Edward VI. was godfather to the third surviving son, afterwards Henry III., born in 1551. Henry II. was killed by accident in 1559.

The French ambassadors for the ratification of the treaty, Chastillon, Mortier, and Buchatel, were lodged at Durham House, and were cordially entertained by King Edward, as will appear more fully in its place. Afterwards a stately embassy went to Paris to invest Henry II. with the Garter. The Marquis of Northampton was the ambassador, attended by other English nobles, Chancellor Goodrich being the orator. A few months later Edward VI. was invested with the order of St. Michael.

This peace represented a wise and far-seeing policy. An *entente cordiale* with France was a fixed idea with Edward VI., as it was with our wisest sovereigns, Queen Elizabeth and the Protector Oliver, and as it is with Edward VII.

The government of the Council was strong and firm, though sometimes tyrannical. There was no vacillation. The laws had to be obeyed. Northumberland had adopted the policy of establishing a Protestant Church. He had no strong religious convictions, and when his own end came, and he needed religion, he turned to that of his youth. He acted entirely from the point of view of a statesman, and took the course which appeared best for the country. With his



NICHOLAS RIDLEY, BISHOP OF LONDON.

From an Engraving by J. Cochran.

eyes open he finally broke with Mary, the Emperor, and Spain, and cultivated the French alliance. Seeing young Edward so full of life and energy, though delicate, he never seems to have brought the boy's death into his calculations until it was too late.

In 1552 the Parliament authorised the new Prayer Book and passed an Act of Uniformity. There were also Acts for the relief of the poor, for fasts and holidays, against simony and usury, and for the suppression of Henry's unnecessary bishopric of Westminster. The Council saw that the laws were enforced. If the Bishops would not obey they were sent to prison. Gardiner of Winchester found himself in the Tower, Bonner of London was sent to the Marshalsea. Their sees were made vacant, and filled by Dr. Ponet and kind-hearted Ridley, who allowed Bonner's aged mother to remain in the bishop's palace. Tunstall of Durham and Day of Chichester were also proceeded against and imprisoned. King Edward interfered in favour of Dr. Day, the friend of his tutor. Somerset had caused an inventory of church plate to be made. The Council went further, and appointed Commissioners to seize the plate and valuables in all churches. It was

a monstrous act of pillage. The chantries were also appropriated for the King's use; yet, apart from these high-handed measures, the good work of the Reformation was making progress.

The fortifications and the navy had been alike neglected. Northumberland at once proceeded to take steps to remedy the evil, and the young King, who had studied the subject, took a special interest in the repairs and plans. A survey of the works at Calais and Guisnes led to designs which were sanctioned for improving the haven, and repairing the fortified line. Edward gives the details in his Journal. The works at Berwick also received attention.

The navy was placed in the efficient hands of Lord Clinton. Ships were ordered to be refitted and commissioned to keep the narrow seas and put down piracy. Charles V. became an enemy of the English Government, threatening reprisals if his cousin Mary's mass priests were molested. He prepared a squadron of ships under a commander, called Scipperus in Edward's Journal, to watch the eastern coasts. But England now had a very able admiral at the head of affairs, as well as an efficient admiral in command of the navy. They were quite able to deal with Scipperus.

All the ships in Gillingham Water were commissioned, rigged, provided with ordnance, and made ready for sea. Another smaller squadron was sent after pirates.

It was intended to devote the 40,000 crowns paid by the French to the forts and the navy. But the financial situation was most serious. The evil inheritance of a debased currency left by Henry's misgovernment was causing ruin and distress, and no one had as yet proposed an efficient remedy. In 1545 the precious metal had been reduced by Henry VIII. to the lowest degree of fineness that ever disgraced the English Mint. Gold should be of twenty-three carats. It was reduced to twenty carats. The tyrant was deliberately cheating his people by welshing. His successors found an enormous quantity of base gold and silver in circulation, and its redemption seemed impossible. Of course prices rose enormously, and there was much distress. The executors continued the methods of their former master. The alloy was even increased and money was borrowed. They issued 40,000*l.* in coin with three-quarters alloy. The only remedy was to call it all in, and re-coin. At last the Council resolved to resume the coining of money at a pure

standard, and Henry's system of peculation was not again resorted to. Young Edward took a very special interest in the restoration of the currency, and studied the subject with care.

The Council carefully provided for their own security. In a new Treason Act the offence was against the Council during the minority, as well as against the King; but, on the other hand, not only was no one to be attainted without two witnesses, but the witnesses were to be brought face to face with the accused.[1] The Council also raised 900 men for their own protection, which was called a gendarmerie. In a few more years, in October 1555, the young King would reach his majority. Alas! for the disappointment of such bright hopes.

THE COUNCIL, 1549–1553

Dr. Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.[3]
Dr. Tunstall, Bishop of Durham.
Dr. Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, Lord Chancellor.[3]
Montagu, Chief Justice.[3]
Bromley, Judge.
John Dudley, Viscount Lisle, Earl of Warwick, Duke of Northumberland, K.G.[2 3 4]

[1] Burnet, ii. p. 181.
[2] Tudor and new nobility.
[3] Signed the Letters Patent for Jane to be Queen.
[4] Sat on Somerset's trial.

William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, Master of the Horse, K.G.[2 3 4]

Russell, Earl of Bedford, Lord Privy Seal.[3 4]

Grey, Marquis of Dorset, Duke of Suffolk, K.G.[1 3]

Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, Lord High Treasurer, K.G.[2 3 4]

Parr, Marquis of Northampton, Lord Chamberlain, K.G.[2 3 4]

Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, K.G.[1 3]

Nevill, Earl of Westmorland, K.G.[1 3]

Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, K.G.[1 3 4]

Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, K.G.[1 3]

Fiennes, Baron Clinton, Lord High Admiral, K.G.[1 3]

Paget, Lord Paget of Beaudesert, K.G.[2 3 4]

Brooke, Lord Cobham, K.G.[1 3 4]

Darcy, Lord Darcy of Chich, Chamberlain of the Household, K.G.[2 3 4]

Ferrers, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Viscount Hereford.[1]

Sir Anthony Wingfield (died 1552), Controller of the Household, K.G.[1]

Sir Edward North (Court of Augmentations).[1 3]

Sir John Baker, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Speaker.[1 3]

Sir Anthony Browne, K.G.[1 3]

Sir John Gage, Constable of the Tower, K.G.[1 3]

Sir Ralph Sadleir, Master of the Wardrobe.[1 3]

Sir John Mason, Secretary for the French tongue.[2 3]

Sir Thomas Cheyney, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, K.G.[1 3]

Sir Philip Hoby, Diplomatist.[2]

Lord Rich, former Chancellor, superseded by Dr. Goodrich.[1 3 4]

[1] Old nobility.

[2] Tudor and new nobility.

[3] Signed the Letters Patent for Jane to be Queen.

[4] Sat on Somerset's trial.

Sir John Gates, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.[2] [3]

Sir Robert Bowes (representing the City), Master of the Rolls.[2]

Dr. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury, Diplomatist.[1]

Sir William Petre,[1] [3] Sir William Cecil,[2] [3] Secretaries of State.

William Thomas,[2] Clerk of the Council.

MONEY OF EDWARD VI

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Gold—Angel . .	9	8	Silver—Crown . .	5	0
Old Riall .	14	6	(King mounted in armour)		
New sovereign	20	0	Half-crown .	2	6
			Shilling .	0	12
			Teston . .	0	6
			Groat . .	0	1

Inscriptions: Obverse—Edwardus VI. Dei gratiâ Anglie et Francie et Hibernie Rex.

Reverses (gold)—Jesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat.

Scutum fidei proteget eum.

Per crucem tuam salve nos Christe redemptor.

Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum.

„ (silver)—Timor Domini fons vite.

Inimicos ejus induam confusione.

[1] Old nobility.

[2] Tudor and new nobility.

[3] Signed the Letters Patent for Jane to be Queen.

XI

A KING AT LAST

THE fall of Somerset made a great change in the young King's position. Apart from his studies with Dr. Cheke, which he enjoyed, he had led a wretched life during the last two years. Prevented from intercourse with those who were nearest and dearest to him, stinted as regards money, under constant espionage by the terrible Duchess, cross-examined with the object of getting up charges against his favourite uncle, seeing that uncle condemned and executed, forced, when very ill, to leave his bed and ride through a cold autumn night, and feeling, as he told the Council, as if he was a prisoner, young Edward must have rejoiced when the 'protection' came to an end.

When the Council resumed their proper functions Edward was first allowed to feel that he was the King. Treated with respect and deference, his wishes were consulted with regard to

the household appointments. His tutor was knighted, his beloved friend Barnaby, though still very young, was sworn as a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. Edward now felt that he was a King with responsibilities, and that attention would be paid to his wishes. He was in his thirteenth year. It was natural that the man who was chiefly instrumental in making this great change should win the young King's affection and trust. This may have been Northumberland's object. There was certainly wisdom in the course he took.

Among older men, the Marquis of Winchester, Lord Darcy of Chich, Sir Thomas Wroth, the King's cousin's husband, Sir E. Rogers, his mother's cousin, Lord Wentworth, were specially appointed to be in attendance. There can be no doubt that Edward was consulted in the selection of these officials, and that at least three were nominated by him.

King Edward entered upon various duties, not the least important being the reception and entertainment of distinguished visitors. His many engaging qualities made him an ideal prince in the performance of these duties. His first guests were the French ambassadors. On July 19, 1550,

they supped with His Majesty, who afterwards took them to see a dozen courses run. On the 20th he took them out hunting with his hounds, and then to some target practice, where they saw him shoot, and all his guards shoot together. M. de Chastillon dined with the King, heard his Majesty play on the lute, and afterwards supped with him. On the 27th Edward again took the ambassadors out hunting, and on the 28th he took them to see some coursing in Hyde Park, and entertained them at dinner there. On another day Edward amused them with sports at Hampton Court, and on the river, where there were displays of wild fire thrown out of boats, and many other pretty conceits. The ambassadors had invested the King with the Order of St. Michael on July 17, and in return the King had entertained them right royally.

Edward's next experience in the regal reception of a visitor was when Mary of Guise, the widow of his cousin, James V., having a safe-conduct to pass through England to Scotland, landed at Portsmouth to see the young King. Edward ordered her to be welcomed with royal hospitality. She was received at Sir Richard Cotton's house, next at Cowdray by Sir Anthony Browne, where the

gentlemen of Sussex met her, and next at Guildford, where she was received by the gentlemen of Surrey. The Queen Dowager of Scotland journeyed thence to Hampton Court. At two and a half miles from the palace a splendid cavalcade awaited her, consisting of members of Council, gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, and 120 gentlemen of the county. At the palace gate were the Countess of Pembroke and sixty other ladies, who conducted her to her apartments.

During that night, and all the next day, Edward entertained Mary of Guise with dancing and pastimes. On the second day she was taken over the palace and grounds, and saw some coursing of deer.

On November 2 Mary of Guise was taken to the lodgings provided for her in London, in the Bishop's Palace, when she was received by the Earls of Warwick and Wiltshire, eldest sons of Northumberland and Winchester.

On the 4th was Edward's grand reception of the Scottish Queen Dowager at the palace of Westminster. A gorgeous cavalcade escorted her, including the Duchess of Richmond, Edward's cousins Frances and Margaret, Lady Jane Grey, the Countesses of Arundel, Bedford, Huntingdon,

and Rutland, and about a hundred others. The Duke of Northumberland and Earl of Pembroke awaited her at the gate, and the King, surrounded by his Council, met her in the hall and conducted her to the presence chamber, guards lining the walls on both sides. A state dinner followed. The queen dined with Edward, on his left hand, under the same cloth of estate. Behind her dined Edward's two cousins, Frances and Margaret.[1] Behind the King sat the French Ambassador. There were two cupboards, one loaded with gold plate four stages high, another full of massy silver in six stages. After dinner there was some music. Then the King conducted his guest to the hall in the same order, and she departed. Next day the Lord Steward, the Lord Treasurer, and the Lord Privy Seal waited upon her to deliver a diamond ring and two palfreys as tokens from the King.

On the 6th Mary of Guise left London in great state. Her escort consisted of the Duke of Northumberland with a band of 100 men, forty in black velvet and white sleeves, and sixty in cloth; of the Earl of Pembroke with his band of fifty men, of the Earl of Wiltshire with fifty men of his

[1] Duchess of Suffolk and Countess of Cumberland.

father's band, all the pensioners and men at arms, the King's cousin Margaret, the Duchesses of Northumberland and Richmond. They brought the Queen by Cheapside and Cornhill to Shoreditch. There she was met by one hundred gentlemen of Middlesex, and so she was conveyed to Scotland, being met at each boundary by an escort of the gentlemen of the county.

The courtesy and regal bearing of young Edward on these occasions aroused general admiration and a feeling of loyalty, with fond hopes for the future. All seemed full of promise.

But this year 1551 was a sad one for the King. He had to mourn the loss of two dear friends and companions. Their mother was the Duchess of Suffolk, Lady Willoughby d'Eresby in her own right. Though her mother was a Spaniard, and the life-long friend of Catherine of Aragon, the Duchess was an ardent Protestant. She was a lady of infinite wit, a friend of young Edward, and a friend and frequent correspondent of Sir William Cecil. She was devoted to her two sons, Henry Brandon Duke of Suffolk and Lord Charles Brandon. When they went to Cambridge she lived there to be near them, and became a friend of the learned Bucer. Before the coronation King

Edward had created his two Brandon playfellows Knights of the Bath. The elder is described as having a calm, gentle, and reflective mind, while the younger was of a bold and martial spirit. One would have been Edward's Minister, the other would have commanded his armies. They had just written funeral orations on the death of their old friend Bucer. The Duke was fifteen, and his brother Charles fourteen.

In 1551 the sweating sickness broke out at Cambridge. The Duchess was ill in London. The two boys, with a young friend named George Stanley, were hurried off to a village called Kingston about five miles from Cambridge. A few hours after their arrival young Stanley died. The Brandon boys were then sent to Bugden, a house belonging to the Bishop of Lincoln. They were received by their cousin, Lady Margaret Nevill. They supped with her on the evening of their arrival. The young Duke said 'Where shall we sup to-morrow evening?' 'With me, I trust,' Lady Margaret replied. He answered, 'No, never shall we sup again together.' The Duchess hurried to Bugden, and five hours afterwards both boys were struck down with the fatal sickness. They were in separate rooms. At the moment the

Duke expired, Charles said 'My brother is dead.' He followed the same night, July 16, 1551.

Overwhelmed with grief, the Duchess retired to Grimthorpe, her seat in Lincolnshire, whence she wrote a resigned letter to Cecil dated September 1551. In course of time she married a very old friend, and a friend of her boys, Mr. Richard Bertie. Persecuted by Mary, the Duchess and her husband escaped abroad, and she became the mother of Peregrine Lord Willoughby, Elizabeth's diplomatist and general.

Mr. Bertie wrote some Latin verses on the deaths of Henry and Charles Brandon, which Lady Georgina Bertie thus rendered into English:

Oh ye! who lately struck the mournful chord
Of funeral woe, and Bucer's loss deplored,
Who shed the precious balm of youthful tears
O'er him whose hoary head was crowned with years.
Are ye all silent now? And can it be
That both are thus cut off, by fate's decree!
Yet blind necessity has not struck the blow
That laid the blossoms of our hopes so low.
Though short to us, their lives for them too long
Who changed an earthly for a heavenly song,
And left th' endearments of a mother's love
For sweeter commune still in realms above.
Oh! in those glorious courts where sorrows cease,
Souls of the pure and blest, for ever rest in peace.

XII

RELIGIOUS REFORMS. SERMONS BEFORE THE KING, ETC.

EDWARD'S religious education had been most carefully conducted. He had been taught all that was pure and good in the Catholic worship of his ancestors, while he was impressed with the urgent need for rooting out the more recent errors and corrupt practices in what he was taught to call 'papistry.' The seed fell on good ground, and the young King was unfeignedly devout, and anxious in all ways to forward the cause of Gospel truth.

Among his councillors he saw little to encourage him. They were engaged in pillage, destruction, and self-seeking. Church property, when confiscated, belonged to the State, to be used for State purposes. But it was appropriated by the unprincipled statesmen forming the Council. One line in the King's Journal sums up the character

of their proceedings: 'Covent Garden and Long Acre were given to the Earl of Bedford, June 10, 1552.'

It is true that there were honest and saintly men among the clergy. The Archbishop of Canterbury, though weak and vacillating, was a fervent seeker after truth, and a true lover of his country. He promoted the dissemination of Gospel truth, and revised editions of the Bible were published by Grafton, from 1539 to 1553.[1] Good old Cranmer was hard at work completing the Book of Common Prayer. He had learned assistance, but it was mainly his own production, and his hand is apparent throughout. Cranmer gave our Liturgy that spiritual life and beauty which have secured the love and reverence of all future generations. His alterations were only made when it was absolutely necessary. He had a loving tenderness and care for all that was really Catholic in the old forms. He strove only to uproot the tares. Many of the prayers were very beautiful translations from the Breviary. The First Prayer Book of King Edward was completed in 1548.

[1] In Edward's first Parliament Communion in both kinds for the laity was enacted (November 4, 1547). The first Prayer Book was printed in June 1548.

THOMAS CRANMER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

From an Engraving by W. Holl after the Painting by 'Gerbrandus Flinck' in the British Museum.

Cranmer earnestly desired that all the Protestant communities should agree, and he sought help and advice from abroad, which was perhaps a mistake. Learned divines were invited to come to England.

Martin Bucer was born at Strassburg in 1491, was a Dominican monk and studied at Heidelberg. He was convinced that the Church needed reform, and became a disciple of Luther and a strong opponent of popery. He came to England at Cranmer's invitation, and was chosen Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, where he died in February 1550.

Peter Martyr was born at Florence, his family name being Vermigli. He studied Greek at Padua, became an Austin Canon and a celebrated preacher. Having mastered Hebrew as well as Greek, he held the appointments of Abbot of Spoleto and Principal of the College of St. Peter at Naples. Biblical studies convinced him of the errors of popery, and in 1542 he went to Switzerland, and declared himself a Protestant; afterwards filling the theological chair at Strassburg. Accepting an invitation to come to England, Peter Martyr was made Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and a Canon of Christ Church.

John Alasco or Laski was a Polish nobleman,

born in the castle of Laski in 1499. His uncle was the Primate of Poland, and he was educated in the Archiepiscopal Palace at Cracow. He was with his uncle at the Lateran Council, and took his degree at Bologna. In 1523 he was at Basle where he met Erasmus, and lived for a year in his house. He was Bishop of Vesprin and Archdeacon of Warsaw; but in 1538 he embraced the Protestant religion and became pastor of a congregation at Emden. Alasco was a reformer of the extreme Swiss school. At Cranmer's invitation he came to London in 1550, and was superintendent of a congregation of foreign Protestants, organised on the Presbyterian model. Alasco took Hooper's view about vestments. He visited Bucer at Cambridge, and had great influence at the Court of Edward VI. The church of Austin Friars in London was granted to his congregation in July 1550.

Cranmer was prevailed upon by these foreign divines, and by the more advanced Protestants among his own countrymen, to undertake the revision of the Prayer Book of 1548. Oil in confirmation, extreme unction, and prayers for the dead were set aside, and some other alterations were made. The second Prayer Book of King Edward was

established by Act of Parliament in January 1552, and the Articles of Religion in the following year. We owe it to Cranmer that our Church remained a true branch of the Catholic Church; that all that was good in the ancient traditions was retained; and that tolerance and forbearance distinguish the Anglican Church from all sectarian dissenters. All who love our beautiful liturgy must revere the name of Cranmer. It is his imperishable monument.

The Calvinists and Presbyterians were as cruel and intolerant as the Papists, though all their claws are now cut. The Anglican Church is nearest, among all the modern forms of Christianity, to the divine original.

Young Edward took a keen interest in the religious work of Cranmer, and was a close student of divinity. We have from his pen a compilation on idolatry from the Scriptures, written in French, now preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. He also wrote his views on the papacy,[1] and on faith.

During Lent of each year special sermons were preached before the King on Sundays. Some

[1] Thirty-seven leaves, with quotations from Scripture in the margins. Begun December 13, 1547; finished March 14, 1548.

were by Ridley, the excellent and kind-hearted Bishop of London. Another preacher was honest old Hugh Latimer. A pulpit was set up in the King's privy garden at Westminster, and the whole Court attended. Latimer always said the Lord's Prayer before the sermon, to inculcate it into the memories of the people. His sermons were plain and very practical. He was absolutely fearless, and he denounced the evils around him without regard to rank or position. What he thought and believed he said, and flattery from such a man was impossible. We may, therefore, accept what old Latimer says of Edward as what he was convinced to be the truth.

'Blessed be the land, saith the Word of God, where the King is noble. What people are they that say, "the King is but a child"? Have not we a noble King! Was there ever King so noble? so godly, brought up with such noble counsel, such excellent and well learned schoolmasters? I will tell you this. I speak it even as I think. His Majesty hath more godly wit and understanding, more learning and knowledge at this age than twenty of his progenitors, that I could name, had at any time of their lives.'

Latimer gave excellent and patriotic advice, especially that all boys and men should be taught the art of shooting. 'It is a gift of God,' he urged, 'that He hath given us to excel all other nations. Withal it hath been God's instrument whereby He hath given us many victories against our enemies. I desire ye, my Lords, even as ye love the honour and glory of God, and intend to remove His indignation, let there be sent forth some proclamation, some sharp proclamation to the Justices of Peace, for they do not their duty. Charge them, upon their allegiance, that this singular benefit of God may be practised. In my time my poor father was as diligent to teach me to shoot, as to learn any other thing, and so I think other men did their children.'

Latimer also boldly preached against corruption among judges and officials. The proof of his persuasive eloquence is in the result. He urged corrupt officials to make restitution, declaring that bribes were taken, that the King was robbed, and that the guilty ones would go to the devil if his denunciations were not attended to. The guilty listeners were conscience-smitten. One came privately to Latimer after the sermon and

paid him £340. Latimer gave it to the Council. Next year the same man brought £183. Latimer refused to betray him; but he continued to preach against bribery and corruption. He next denounced the Mint, and this induced Sharrington, Master of the Mint at Bristol, to make restitution. The old man was a true and faithful servant of his Master and a stirring preacher of His word.[1]

Edward had only one occasion for showing his hatred of cruelty, and his determination not to countenance religious persecution. Joan Boucher persisted in some heretical opinion, and the Council wanted to burn her. The King positively refused his consent. They sent Cranmer to him, and, after long resistance, he only yielded to the Archbishop's importunities because he was a minor, throwing all the blame before God on his advisers.

This was not Edward's way of extirpating false doctrine. He desired that a good catechism should be prepared for the instruction of the rising generation at schools and colleges. His old tutor,

[1] Latimer's seven Lenten sermons, preached before the King in 1549, were published in 1549. There have since been many editions, the latest by the Parker Society, 1844.

Dr. Cox, had been transferred from the Deanery of Christ Church to that of Westminster in 1549. Through him the King became acquainted with the headmaster of Westminster School, Dr. Alexander Nowell, who was 'very famous for religion and learning,' and introduced the reading of Terence among the Westminster boys. Nowell was also a good angler, fishing in the river near his living of Much Hadham. The headmaster composed a catechism,[1] which Edward said 'was made by a certain pious and learned man, and presented to me.' He ordered it to be taught in all schools.

King Edward wished all ancient rules to be modified so as to be in conformity with the reformed religion, including the statutes of the Order of the Garter. Ashmole tells us that 'he went about to alter and reform such things in the statutes as seemed inconsistent with the religion he had established.'[2] Annual chapters were held on April 23, generally at Greenwich, and Committees of Revision were appointed. Several drafts were prepared, Edward himself taking great interest in the matter. He composed a draft of the revised

[1] *Catechismus brevis Christianæ disciplinæ summam continens.*

[2] Ashmole's *Order of the Garter*, p. 194.

statutes in Latin,[1] and on March 17, 1553, the new statutes were published.

There was a committee of learned divines and lawyers to codify the ecclesiastical laws. The young King also took great interest in the promotion of education. Although he did not found and endow twenty schools in different parts of the country, as Strype supposed, yet some schools were founded in his reign : one at Coventry

[1] In his own handwriting (Cottonian MSS. Nero, C. x.). Mary abrogated the new statutes, ordering them to be expunged and made void. In 1560 Elizabeth appointed a committee to reconsider the matter.

The Latin MS. was purchased in Berlin, by chance, by the Grand Duke of Hesse and presented to Queen Victoria. An English MS., formerly belonging to John Anstis, Garter King 1718 to 1745, now belongs to the Royal Library at Windsor. Sir E. Maunde Thompson wrote a paper on these two manuscripts, which was read at the Society of Antiquaries on May 4, 1893, and printed in *Archæologia*.

There are five documents connected with the revision of the Statutes of the Garter, which originated with the King or passed through his hands, of which three are entirely in his own handwriting. The three holograph documents are in the Cotton MSS., Nero, C. x. They have been printed by Gough Nichols (ii. 511). Edward's second English and Latin schemes were probably written in the middle of 1551. The young King was anxious not only to purge the Order of all Popish practices, but also to make the ancient institution subservient to the promotion of learning and the general improvement of the country. The new statutes were finally adopted on March 17, 1553. They were in force until September 27, 1553, when Mary replaced them with those of Henry VIII., 1522.

In both the Windsor and the Queen's MS. there are corrections in Edward's handwriting. In the Windsor MS. there are also alterations by Cecil.

by John Hales. Christ's Hospital, St. Thomas's Hospital, St. Bartholomew's Hospital were endowed, and the palace of Bridewell[1] was given up as a home for the reform of vagrants and disorderly persons.

A great advance was certainly made in religion, education, and charity during this young King's short but memorable reign.[2]

[1] There is a portrait of King Edward on his throne granting the charter of his palace of Bridewell to the citizens of London. Sir George Barne, the Lord Mayor, is kneeling to receive the charter. Dr. Goodrich, Bishop of Ely and Lord Chancellor, is on the King's right; Sir Robert Bowes, Master of the Rolls, and the Earl of Pembroke on the left. The picture was engraved by Vertue in 1750.

[2] Many letters, which must have been of great interest, passed between young Edward and Cranmer. Richard Morice, the Archbishop's secretary, preserved them; but his house was rifled during the Marian terror, and the letters were destroyed. Only two were preserved, which are given by Fox.

KING EDWARD'S BISHOPS

Twenty-six Sees	Names	Remarks	Treatment by Mary
Canterbury	Cranmer	—	Burnt to death. Martyr.
York	Holgate	Wealthy. Charitable and generous	Robbed and ruined.
London	Ridley	Learned, excellent, and kind-hearted	Burnt to death. Martyr.
Durham	Tunstall	On the Council. Half Papist	Complied.
Winchester	Ponet	Gardiner deposed	Escaped abroad. Died 1556
Ely	Goodrich[1]	Lord Chancellor	Deprived. Died 1554.
Lincoln	Taylor	Married	Deprived.
Lichfield	Sampson	Complied with all changes	Complied.
Salisbury	Capon (*alias* Salcot)	Robber. Complied	Complied.
Bath and Wells	Barlow	Consecrator of Archbishop Parker	Escaped abroad.
Exeter	Coverdale (1551 succeeded Voysey)	Consecrator of Archbishop Parker	Escaped abroad.
Worcester	Heath	Made Archbishop of York by Mary	Complied.
„	Before him Latimer	—	Burnt to death. Martyr.
Gloucester	Hooper (1550)	—	Burnt to death. Martyr.
Hereford	Harley (Skyffe?)	Continued to teach in woods and secret places	Deprived.
Chichester	Scory (1551)	Friend of Alasco. At Emden. Consecrator of Archbishop Parker	Escaped abroad.
Rochester	Ridley (1547), Ponet, Scory	—	—
Oxford	King	Died 1551. See vacant ten years	Complied with all changes.
Peterborough	Chambre	Died 1550. He had been Abbot	—
Bristol	Bush	Married	Deprived.
Carlisle	Aldrich	Had been Provost of Eton and Canon of Windsor	Deprived.
Chester	Bird	Married	Deprived.
Norwich	Thirlby	Wretched time-server	Translated to Ely.
Llandaff	Kitchin	Complied with all changes. Robber	Complied.
Bangor	Bulkeley	Blind (died 1552). See vacant three years	—
St. Asaph	Parfoy (*alias* Warton)	Robber	—
St. Davids	Ferrar	—	Burnt to death. Martyr.
Sodor and Man	H. Mann	Dean of Chester	—

Under Mary: five burnt, six deprived, four escaped abroad, nine complied.

XIII

KING EDWARD AS A STATESMAN

As Edward progressed with his studies, he became more and more interested in the work that was to occupy his life, more and more desirous of mastering the details of statecraft. His tutors were still with him or near him. As Dean of Westminster Dr. Cox was close at hand. Dr. Cheke remained as a Gentleman of the Chamber and was knighted.

Following Sir John Cheke's advice, the young King began to keep a regular Journal in March 1550, which has been preserved.[1] It ends in

[1] Cottonian MSS. Nero, C. x. The Journal was printed by Bishop Burnet in his *History of the Reformation*, and more recently, in 1857, by J. G. Nichols. Hallam doubted whether Edward wrote it, and Froude thought that Thomas might have written part. Burnet and Nichols had no doubt that Edward wrote the Journal; and, indeed, there is not the slightest ground for any doubt. Edward may have copied notes or memoranda into it, which were furnished to him from time to time. The Journal consists of sixty-eight leaves folio.

November 1552. It begins with a brief *résumé* of the proceedings of the previous years of his reign, including a spirited and well-written account of the campaign in Scotland. His Journal records his movements, his sports, as well as public events; and clear notices of the affairs of the Emperor and of his war with Henry II. This attention to foreign affairs shows that he read the despatches of his ambassadors with care.

Edward VI. was well served by his diplomatists. Sir John Mason was an excellent linguist and a close observer, with liberal economic views. Sir Philip Hoby was a negotiator of ability. Sir Richard Morrison was a more conscientious man and not a time-server. He was at the Court of the Emperor. Sir William Pickering did good service at Paris.

But the most valuable, as regards guidance in a King's duties, and not the least faithful of Edward's servants, was Master Thomas, the Clerk of the Council. William Thomas was a native of Radnorshire, and was a student at Oxford in 1529. He then passed several years in Italy, returning in 1549. He studied at Bologna and Padua, acquiring a thorough knowledge of the Italian language. He had written a 'History of Italy'

and an Italian grammar and dictionary, the first of its kind. His style is always lucid and his orthography better than that of most of his contemporaries. He went to Paris in 1551 with the embassy of the new Marquis of Northampton (Parr), touching the marriage of the French Princess Elizabeth. For his years, Thomas was one of the most learned men of his time.[1]

As the King increased in years and knowledge, the Council, perhaps Dudley, began to show uneasiness and even jealousy. Thomas had undertaken to be Edward's political instructor, but it had to be without the knowledge of the Council. One of Edward's faithful Gentlemen of the Chamber, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, was the confidential agent who carried papers between the King and the Clerk of the Council. Edward had copies of the Council Minutes, with notes on the decisions. 'The commonplaces of State' contained a number of questions and answers respecting affairs of State, including the conduct of a campaign. Edward was

[1] The works of William Thomas were his *History of Italy*, 4to., 1549; his *Italian Grammar and Dictionary for the Better Understanding of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio*, 4to., 1550; *Common Places of State*, MS. written for Edward VI.; *Of the Vanity of the World*, 8vo., 1549; *Translation of Cato's Speech and Valerius's Answer from Dec. IV. of Livy*, 12mo., 1551.

well acquainted with the unsatisfactory condition of the people caused by former misgovernment. He asked many questions with a view to the reform of abuses, and wrote a treatise in which he compared the State and its problems with a man's body, its ailments and remedies. His essay on a Free Mart was probably based on conversations with Sir John Mason. Thomas supplied him with notes on the coinage, and on the steps for restoring its purity.[1] There are several notes on the subject in his Journal. He was also concerned about the crown debts. No adequate measure had been taken for their payment except the sale of chantries. The Council attempted no scheme of economy, and at length the young King himself introduced measures of retrenchment in the household expenses.[2] The procedure of the Council itself also received his attention, and he had a scheme ready for its more efficient working by small committees for the different departments.

We can now picture to ourselves the young King in his study at Westminster, engaged on

[1] The King gave Thomas a special but secret order to prepare for him a note on the coinage. Legend on coins: 'Timor Domini fons vitæ vel sapientiæ.'

[2] The charges for the household for a week in 1549 were £828, or £43,000 a year.

the State problems, with Barnaby or Sydney as his companion. The window looked out over the river alive with wherries and barges, and on the towers of Lambeth beyond, embosomed in trees. Below was the privy garden between the palace wall and the river parapet. Round the walls were Edward's favourite books. There was his Latin grammar on vellum, bound in red silk.[1] On the shelves were Herodotus, Plutarch, Cicero, Petrarch, Ptolemy's Geography of 1548 (Venice), the ' Cronica de España ' of Diego de Valera (1517), Hall's Chronicle, Polydore Virgil,[2] the Coverdale Bible—these certainly, among others. Outside in the gallery was the world map of Cabot, engraved by Clement Adams, and on a side table was the clock made for King Edward by Bastien le Senay, the royal clockmaker.

The boy King would sit near the window, his fair young face with a slight frown, showing that he was deep in thought. For the secret of his learning and his readiness to assume the reigns of government was a constitutional power of concentrating his thoughts on the work in hand, and

[1] Now in the library at Lambeth.

[2] Polydore Virgil took his leave, and went back to Italy in 1551, after forty years in England.

a constitutional habit of husbanding and dividing his time. He had a time for conversation and receptions, a time for study, and a time for play, especially when he got away to Greenwich or Oatlands.

In the time for study he sat at his little desk which was covered with black velvet, garnished with plates of copper gilt. Inside there was a till of cypress wood containing an inkstand of silver gilt, and two little silver boxes for sand. In the desk, besides papers, there was a gold brooch with a face of white agate, fifteen triangular buttons of gold, enamelled black and white, and as many small gold buttons. By his side, as he sat at his desk, Edward had a chest containing the reports and other documents supplied by Master Thomas, and the records of the Council's proceedings. He always carried the key of this chest about with him.

Ruding gives the credit of restoring the coinage to the King himself. He says, 'In 1553 the coinage was nearly reduced to a perfect standard by the wise determination and unwearied exertions of the late King.'[1] Edward also turned his

[1] Mary issued a misleading proclamation with regard to a pure standard, which was contradicted by the indenture, which debased the coinage 1 dwt. worse than by the indenture of 6 Edward VI.

attention to a reduction of the household expenses. The King's books of receipts and expenses were kept by Sir William Cavendish, Treasurer of the King's Chamber;[1] and some of them have been preserved. A considerable saving had been effected before the close of the reign.

Several documents belonging to Edward are enumerated by Burnet and Strype:

'A discourse by William Thomas, for the King's use, whether it be expedient to vary with time.'

'A discourse whether it be better for a Commonwealth that the power be in the nobility or the commonalty.'

'A discourse entitled, "What Prince's amity is best."'

'A discourse touching His Majesty's outward affairs.'

'A discourse touching the reformation of the coin.'

'A paper by the King concerning a free mart in England.'

'A paper by Sir William Cecil on the method in which the Council represents matters of State to the King.'

[1] Folio volumes bound in vellum, belonging to Sir Walter Trevelyan. *Inventory of Robes in the British Museum*, 2 vols.

'A method for the proceedings in the Council,' in the King's own handwriting.

'Certain articles desired by the King's Majesty, for the quicker, better, and more orderly despatch of causes by His Majesty's Privy Council.' This document is not in Edward's own handwriting, but it is interlined by him in many places.

These documents bear witness to the grasp the young King was getting of affairs of State, and to the thorough way in which he was preparing himself for the duties of his high office. Several books were presented to him, among others 'the Poesye of Princylye Practice,' by Sir William Forrest.

XIV

EXECUTION OF SOMERSET

Somerset would not be satisfied with the very liberal treatment he had received from the Council. He must have been induced to conspire by some evil adviser. The Duchess was at his elbow, with fatal influence over his weak nature. He entered into a conspiracy to overcome the Council and its gendarmerie ; and to recover the post of Protector. With this object he surrounded himself with soldiers of the Scottish and French wars, desperate characters whose good faith was not always to be relied upon. These were Sir Miles Partridge, who was knighted for his gallantry at the siege of Roxburgh ; Sir Ralph Vane, who was knighted at Boulogne, and created a knight banneret for his valour at Musselburgh ; Sir Thomas Arundel (of the Arundels of Lanherne), who had seen much service ; and Sir Thomas Palmer,[1] a cousin of Sir

[1] Thomas Palmer, of the Palmers of Angmering in Sussex, was a trine. Both his two brothers attained to some distinction.

Henry Sydney, who was knighted at Roxburgh, and did good service in Scotland and in putting down the Norfolk rising. They were all reckless soldiers of fortune. It would be necessary to surprise and overcome the gendarmerie, so men, with arms, were collected by Vane in Somerset's house; and the original plan included the deaths of Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke.

Palmer, probably seeing that failure was inevitable owing to the vacillation and incapacity of the leader, disclosed the whole scheme to Northumberland, who at once communicated it to the Council. On October 17, 1551, all the arrests were effected. The conspirators were taken by surprise. Somerset, his Duchess, his brother-in-law Sir Michael Stanhope, Arundel, Partridge, and Vane were sent to the Tower. Of Somerset's household, Newdigate, A. Seymour, Palmer, Crane and his wife, Hamond, Bannister, and Vaughan, were secured for their evidence. Lords Arundel, Dacre, Paget, and Grey were arrested, but soon released. The Sieur de Berteville, a French mercenary, who was to be employed to commit the murders, was also secured. Crane's confession confirmed the evidence of Palmer. Berteville [1]

[1] Berteville was at the battle of Musselburgh or Pinkie, and

confessed, and Hamond gave evidence that he knew of Berteville's employment for the work.

On December 1 Somerset received a fair trial [1] before twenty-six peers, with Winchester presiding as Lord Steward. His imprisonment had been strict, and the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir John Markham, was dismissed for allowing the Duke to walk abroad, as we are informed in Edward's Journal.

The charges were that Somerset had treasonably collected men in his house with an evil intent, that he made a party to get himself made Protector again, that Vane had collected men to attack the gendarmerie, that Somerset had designs against the lives of several of the Council.

The Earl of Rutland gave evidence of Somerset's plan to get himself made Protector again. Lord Strange swore that Somerset had employed him to urge the King to break with France, and marry Lady Anne Seymour. Somerset swore that he had not. Somerset admitted that he had collected

his narrative of the battle was published by the Bannatyne Club, 1825. We are told of his employment by Somerset to kill the Duke of Northumberland, by King Edward in his Journal.

[1] It has been suggested that the Lords were packed. There is no reason whatever for supposing anything of the kind. Two of Somerset's near relations and several friends were among the peers.

men in his house. He admitted an evil design against Northumberland. He confessed to having talked of killing Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, but added that he did not intend to do it. He confessed that he had hired Berteville. His own admissions were quite sufficient. They confirmed the evidence of the confessions.

The sentence of the Lords, after acquitting Somerset for treason, but condemning him for felony, was that he should suffer death. Sir Michael Stanhope, Arundel, Vane, and Partridge received the same sentence. The execution of Somerset took place on January 22, 1552. He had given his poor brother no trial and a shorter shrift.[1]

[1] Simon Renard, the Emperor's Ambassador in Mary's time, told his master that Northumberland had an interview with Somerset's sons before his execution, and confessed 'Avoir procuré sa mort à tort et faulsement.' Also that Palmer admitted that 'L'accusation qu'il advancha et maintint contre le feu Protecteur estoit fausse, fabriquée par le dict duc et advouée par lui, à la requeste du dict duc.'

This story is unsupported by any other evidence. It is clearly false, for Palmer's evidence was true in the main, because it was corroborated by other evidence, and by Somerset himself. It is, therefore, impossible that either Northumberland or Palmer can have said what Renard puts into their mouths. Renard knew that any story disgraceful to Northumberland would please the Emperor, and did not hesitate to retail it. Mr. Froude hesitated to adopt the story, which he evidently considered doubtful.

WILLIAM PAULET, MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER.

From an Engraving by H. Robinson after the Painting by Holbein.

It is a melancholy story. Somerset was a man of fair abilities, naturally disposed to moderation, but vacillating and easily influenced. His wife was a woman of strong will and violent passions. Owing to her power over him, though he doubtless loved his son, he disinherited him; though he felt affection for his brother, he beheaded him; though he cared for his nephew, he ill-treated him. Hopelessly incapable as a conspirator, he engaged in a plot which was sure to fail.

The Duchess was a worse conspirator. Released from the Tower by Mary, she married a gentleman of her household, Mr. Newdigate, and lived to the age of ninety, dying in 1587. There is an enormous tomb to the memory of this dreadful woman in the St. Nicholas Chapel in Westminster Abbey. Her portrait by Antonio Moro was at Strawberry Hill. It is now the property of Lord Stanhope.

King Edward made entries in his Journal of his uncle's arrest, of the evidence of the trial, and of the execution. He added no remark. He narrated these events, in a letter to his friend Barnaby, without remark. There is not a word against his uncle, but there is not a word of regret. His ward disliked Somerset and with good reason.

His belief, on clear evidence, was that his uncle intended to commit an atrocious crime, and that he had confessed. That being the case, it was not only natural to make no comment, but it was the proper course for Edward to take in making entries in his Journal, and in writing to a friend. It would have been wrong to say anything against his uncle, but, in the circumstances, the boy showed no want of feeling in remaining silent.

PEERS WHO SAT ON SOMERSET'S TRIAL.

Paulet, Marquis of Winchester[1] (presided as Lord Steward).

Old Nobility

Bourchier, Earl of Bath.
Stanley, Earl of Derby.
Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon.[1]
Nevill, Lord Abergavenny.
Audley, Lord Audley.
Brooke, Lord Cobham.[1]
Stourton, Lord Stourton.
Zouch, Lord Zouch.

Tudor Creations

Manners, Earl of Rutland.
Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex.
Somerset, Earl of Worcester.
Conyers, Lord Conyers.
Bray, Lord Bray.

[1] On the Council

Cromwell, Lord Cromwell (Somerset's nephew).
Ever, Lord Ever.
Borough, Lord Borough.
Vaux, Lord Vaux.
Windsor, Lord Windsor.
Wentworth, Lord Wentworth (Somerset's cousin).
Wharton, Lord Wharton.

Creations during the Minority

Duke of Northumberland.[1]
Marquis of Northampton.[1]
Earl of Bedford.[1]
Earl of Pembroke.[1]
Lord Paget of Beaudesert.[1]
Lord Rich.[1]
Lord Willoughby of Parham.
Lord Darcy of Chich.[1]

[1] On the Council.

XV

EDWARD VI AS A GEOGRAPHER

Ignorance of geography has been the cause of many blunders and even disasters, especially in this country, and there is no branch of knowledge that is more necessary for an English statesman. Few are more neglected. Alfred the Great was our first geographer, and his annotated edition of Orosius gave to his subjects a good general knowledge of the world and its inhabitants in his day. Alfred was the first to describe an Arctic expedition. His descendant, Edward VI., was the first to despatch one.

Young Edward received instruction in mathematics and in the sphere from Sir John Cheke, and he acquired a knowledge of mathematical geography as it was then understood. In his fourteenth year his tutor had a quadrant made for him, which was constructed and engraved for him

in 1551. There are the initials of the designer, J.C. It is of brass, ten and a half inches across, with a square of the shadows, an arrangement for finding the hour, a circle with the signs of the zodiac, revolutiones cycli lunae et solis, and a table to find Easter. At the back there is a table of sines and cosines.[1] Edward also had an astrolabe made by Bastien le Senay.

In the long gallery there were six other astronomical instruments; and in the secret study, called the Chaier house, Edward had an instrument with dials of white bone, and two cases of instruments lined with black velvet.

The arrival in England of Sebastian Cabot, the Emperor's chief Pilot, gave occasion for the King to acquire knowledge of the phenomena of compass variation. At that time there was an eminent Italian geographer at Edward's court, named Guido Gianeti da Fau. He was held in high esteem, and it was at his suggestion that Cabot was engaged to explain the variation of the compass to the King, and to make a map showing the line of no variation.[2]

[1] The quadrant of Edward VI. was purchased by Sir Augustus Franks, and is now in the British Museum.

[2] Luis Sanuto (*Geographia*, Lib. I. fol. 2) is the authority for Sebastian Cabot having explained the variation of the compass

We learn the degree of proficiency attained by Edward in these geographical studies, from Jerome Cardanus, who was in London towards the end of the reign. Cardanus said that Edward VI. was skilled in natural philosophy, music, and astronomy. 'He learnedly opposed me as to the cause and course of comets.'

Edward had the 1548 edition of Ptolemy, which was the latest book on the subject, and among his friends there was one who was well able to guide his geographical studies. This was Clement Adams, the schoolmaster of the henchmen or pages at Greenwich Palace. Adams was born at Buckington in Warwickshire in 1519, and was educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge. He received his appointment at Greenwich on May 3, 1552, but was previously known to the King. For Edward possessed a copy of the 1544 map of the world by Sebastian Cabot, and a part of it was re-engraved by Adams in 1549. The map engraved by Adams hung in the privy gallery at Westminster, outside Edward's study door.[1]

to Edward VI. His informant was Gianeti. See also Biddle's *Sebastian Cabot*, p. 177.

The King granted 200*l.* to Sebastian Cabot, 'by way of reward, in March 1551 (Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* II. Pt. ii. p. 217).

[1] Hakluyt tells us that there was another copy of the Clement Adams map at the Earl of Bedford's house at Chenies, and that there were others in merchants' houses (Hakluyt, I. xliv.).

Dr. Cheke had charge of the 'Collectanea' of Leland,[1] so that the young King was able to obtain a very complete acquaintance with the topography of his native country. His main object seems to have been to store up knowledge for use in the work of government. At least one pilotage book then existed, probably more; and Edward made it his business to know about all the roadsteads and havens, not only within his own realm, but also in Scotland and France, how the tides served, the depths of water, and what winds were best for bringing a ship to them.[2] He also studied fortification, and several notes in his

[1] Leland came from Lancashire, where he was born in 1506. He was at St. Paul's School and Christ's, Cambridge; was ordained, and librarian to Henry VIII. In 1537 he composed a Latin poem on the birth of Edward. In 1533 he was appointed the King's antiquary, and made his famous antiquarian tour from 1534 to 1543. In 1542 he became Rector of Haseley. He died in April 1552, and his manuscripts, according to his agreement, became the property of the King, including the *Itinerary* and the *Collectanea* (afterwards published by Hearne). Dr. Cheke had charge of them, for the King's library. Cheke's son gave them to Humphrey Purefoy, whose son gave them to W. Burton, the historian of Leicestershire. Burton presented them to the Bodleian Library.

[2] There were pilots' sailing directions in those days. There was one manuscript on the subject, written in the fifteenth century, for the circumnavigation of England and the voyage to Gibraltar. It orginally belonged to Sir John Paston, but in Edward's time the possessor was Sir Gilbert Dethick. Sir Gilbert received the appointment of Garter from Edward, who might well have had the use of the MS. or of a copy (Lansdowne MSS. No. 285). It was printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1889, with an introductory account of the MS. by Mr. Gairdner.

Journal show that he was versed in its principles as then in use.

In consultation with Captain Winter, young Edward took a very active interest in the promotion of long sea voyages, and the encouragement of trade with distant countries. His enthusiasm spread to those around him, and we find at least two of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, Sir Henry Sydney and Sir Thomas Wroth, entering into the plans of their master.

There was already a trade between England and the Levant, the voyages being to Candia and Chios. In November 1550 we find the barque *Aucher* fitting out for the voyage, her owner visiting her at Dover ; [1] and in 1553 the *Matthew Gonson* sailed on the same voyage. Edward lent two of his own ships for the Levant trade, which created an excellent nursery for seamen, Richard Chancellor, the future Arctic voyager, and Matthew Baker, afterwards chief shipwright, having served on board the *Aucher*.

The Levant trade led to enterprises outside the Mediterranean. The first voyage to Morocco

[1] Sir Anthony Aucher of Hantsborne, in Kent, was a contractor and 'the King's Victualler.' Later in the reign Sir Anthony was Marshal of Calais.

was that conducted by Captain Thomas Windham in 1551. In the second Barbary voyage the King took a very special interest, his great friend Sir Thomas Wroth being one of the principal adventurers. The expedition, consisting of the *Lion of London* (150 tons), commanded by Captain Windham, and the *Buttolfe* (eighty tons), sailed from Bristol in May, and returned in October 1552.

The Barbary voyages were successful, and they led to the more adventurous Guinea voyages, which were designed in the last year of Edward's reign. He lent one of his own ships, the *Primrose*, and the first Guinea voyage was despatched a year after the young King's death. It was thus Edward and his friends who gave the first impulses to those distant voyages which led to the establishment of English commerce and to the despatch of voyages of discovery.

King Edward also wanted to know about distant inland countries. Master Thomas made a translation for him of the travels of Josafa Barbaro,[1] who described Eastern Europe and Cairo, the journey to Tabriz, the state of Persia just

[1] The Italian version was published at Venice in 1543. The translation was reprinted for the Hakluyt Society in 1873. The late Lord Strangford formed a high opinion of Thomas's translation. He said that it showed much better orthography than that which prevailed even at a later period.

before the accession of the Sufavi dynasty, and the trade of the Caspian, Central Asia, and Cathay. Thus Edward was enlightened respecting the Far East. He took a warm and personal interest in the science of navigation and in the maritime prosperity of his country. He had received instruction from Master Thomas respecting the travels of Barbaro, and from Master Clement Adams respecting the map of the world which showed the position of Cathay. This would have led to the question of a route, and soon we find the King and his friend Henry Sydney discussing the possibility of a voyage to Cathay by the north-east.

The great geographical event of Edward's reign was the despatch of an Arctic expedition. Under the auspices of the King and Sydney, the Company of Merchant Adventurers was induced to undertake this voyage to Cathay by the north-east. The whole subject was considered by the merchants with the greatest care, in communication with Sydney; the route, the management and discipline, the ships, the stores and equipment, and the merchandise to be taken, were discussed.

The most important matter of all was the selection of a good commander. The Merchant

Adventurers chose Sir Hugh Willoughby, because he was a friend of Sydney, a goodly personage, of tall stature, and of singular skill in the service of war, a Willoughby of the Woolaton family. He was to be Captain General, in the *Bona Esperanza*, of 120 tons. The second ship of 160 tons was named after the King, the *Edward Bonaventure*. Richard Chancellor, who had been in Sydney's service, was selected, from many applicants, on his old master's recommendation, to command the second ship. Sydney made a speech to the Merchant Adventurers, commending the enterprise, which, he said, would be profitable and honourable to our country. The preparations were completed, and King Edward addressed letters missive, in several languages, to the potentates inhabiting the north-east parts of the world toward the mighty empire of Cathay, commending the right valiant and worthy Sir Hugh Willoughby to their good offices. The letters were dated May 10, 1553, the same day on which the ships sailed. Passing Greenwich there was a great crowd on the shore, and the courtiers stood at the windows of the palace. The poor young King was very ill, but fortunately this early part of May [1] was when he seemed better,

[1] On May 6 Dudley reported that the King was much better.

and when, for a short time, there were hopes of his recovery.

The departure of the expedition was the crowning act of Edward's geographical work. He had studied this mother of the sciences most diligently for the use he hoped that his knowledge would be to his people. He fostered commerce, and lent his own ships to encourage the Levant trade. He despatched the first Arctic expedition. He enriched his country by opening the first trade route to Russia. The history of the voyage was recorded by Edward's geographical adviser and faithful servant, Clement Adams.[1]

There is a reason for giving lists of the Arctic crews. It is to show that Arctic expeditions train valuable men, and that the good done by King Edward did not end with the single voyage to Russia. It will be seen that of the fifty men in the *Edward Bonaventure* as many as nine distinguished themselves afterwards.

[1] Adams wrote the narrative in Latin, as he received it from Richard Chancellor, as Eden tells us: 'Nova Anglorum ad Muscovitos navigatio Hugone Willowbeio equite classis præfecto, et Richardo Cancelero navarcho. Auctore Clemente Adams, Anglo.' First printed in Hakluyt in 1589, with an English translation.

Clement Adams died on January 9, 1589, and was buried at St. Alphege' Church in Greenwich.

KING EDWARD'S ARCTIC EXPEDITION.

Crew of the *Bona Esperanza* (120 tons).

Captain-General:

1. Sir Hugh Willoughby, Kt.

Master:

2. William Gefferson.

Master's Mate:

3. Roger Wilson.

Master Gunner:

4. John Brook.

Surgeons:

5. Richard Molton (joined at Harwich).
6. Alexander Gardiner.

Merchants:

7. William Gittons.
8. Charles Barret.
9. Gabriel Willoughby.
10. John Andrews.
11. Alexander Woodford.
12. Ralph Chatterton.

Boatswain:

13. John Webb (entered as Boatswain's Mate, but Boatswain invalided).

Purser:

14. Robert Gwinne.

Purser's Mate and Cooper:

15. Lawrence Edwards.

Quartermasters:

16. Christopher Banbruck.
17. Thomas Davison.
18. Robert Ross.
19. Thomas Simpson.

Quartermaster's Mates:

20. William White.
21. James Smith.
22. Thomas Painter.
23. John Smith.

Carpenters:

24. Richard Gwinne.
25. George Goiswine.

Cook:

26. Richard Morgan.

Men and Boys:

27. William Light.
28. John Brand.
29. Cuthbert Chelsie.
30. George Blage.
31. Thomas Walker.
32. Thomas Allen.
33. Edward Smith.
34. Edward Hunt.
35. John Fawkner.
36. Rowland Brook.

Boatswain Nicholas Anthony invalided at Harwich.

Seaman George Blake invalided at Harwich.

Cook's Mate T. Nash ducked at the yard-arm and discharged for stealing.

NOTE.—Two Willoughbys, two Brooks, two Gwinnes, three Smiths. 36 all told.

Crew of the *Edward Bonaventure* (160 tons).

Captain and Pilot Major:

1. Richard Chancellor.

Master:

2. Stephen Burrough. He afterwards commanded the expedition to the Waigat, 1556. He was Chief Pilot in the Medway. Died 1584.

Master's Mate:

3. John Buckland. Master of the *Primrose* (240 tons) in the Russian trade. He brought home the body of Sir H. Willoughby, his effects, and the ships, 1557.

Chaplain:

4. Rev. Richard Stafford.

Merchants:

5. George Burton.
6. Arthur Edwards. Commercial Agent at Vologda, 1555.
7. Nicholas Newborough.
8. John Segswike. Commercial Agent in Russia. Buying hemp at Novgorod in 1557.
9. James Dallaber.
10. John Hasse. Wrote a report on Russian coins, weights, and measures in 1554.
11. Richard Johnson. With S. Burrough in 1556. Wrote notes on the voyage of the *Searchthrift*.
12. Thomas Francis.
13. William Kempe.

Surgeon:

14. Thomas Walter.

Master Gunner:

15. Robert Stanton.

Gunner's Mate:

16. John Walker.

Gunners:

17. James Long.
18. John Cocks.

Boatswain:

19. Peter Palmer.

Boatswain's Mate:

20. Richard Strowde.

Quartermasters:

21. John Robinson.
22. John Carowe.
23. Thomas Stow.
24. Roger Lishby.

Steward:

25. John Austin.

Steward's Mate:

26. Patrick Stevens.

Cook:

27. Austen Jacks.

Cooper:

28. William Every.

Carpenter:

29. Griffin Wagham.

Men and Boys:

30. Thomas Stelston.
31. Thomas Townes.
32. John Robinson.
33. John White.
34. Miles Butler.
35. John Brown.
36. William Morren.
37. William Watson.

38. Thomas Handcocks.
39. Edward Pacey.
40. Thomas Browne.
41. George Philbarie.
42. Edward Patterson.
43. William Beare.
44. Arthur Pet. In 1560 Pet was Master of the *Jesus*, of London. In 1580 he commanded the *George* in the Waigat Expedition. A good seaman and intrepid explorer.
45. John Potter.
46. Nicholas Lawrence.
47. Roger Welford.
48. John Williams.
49. William Laurence.
50. William Burrough. Afterwards a distinguished naval officer. He was with his brother Stephen in the *Searchthrift* expedition of 1556. Controller of the Navy. Wrote on magnetism. Born 1536. Died 1599.

NOTE.—Nine distinguished afterwards. Two Burroughs. 50 all told.

Crew of the *Bona Confidentia* (90 tons).

Master:

1. Cornelius Durfoorth.

Master's Mate:

2. Richard Ingram.

Merchants:

3. Thomas Langley.
4. Edward Kever.
5. Henry Dorset.

Master Gunner:

6. Henry Taylor.

Gunner's Mate:

7. George Thursland.

Boatswain:

8. William Humaine.

Boatswain's Mate:

9. John Edwards.

Steward:

10. John Reyne.

Quartermasters:

11. Thomas Kirby.
12. Henry Dickenson.
13. John Haye.
14. William Shepwash.

Cook:

15. Thomas Haute.

Cook's Mate:

16. William Lassie.

Carpenter:

17. Nicholas Knight.

Men and Boys:

18. Peter Lewicke.
19. Nicholas Wiggleworth.
20. John Moore.
21. William Chapman.
22. Brian Chester.
23. William Barry.
24. Richard Wood.
25. Clement Gibson.
26. John Clarocke.
27. Erasmus Bentley.
28. John Durfoorth.

NOTE.—Two Durfoorths. 28 all told.

Résumé.

	Souls	
Bona Esperanza . .	36+3	discharged at Harwich.
Edward Bonaventure .	50	
Bona Confidentia . .	28	
	114	
	64	lost with Willoughby.
	50	,, Chancellor.

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Banbruch, Chr., Quartermaster. B. E.
Barret, C., Merchant. B. E.
Barry, Wm. C.
Beare, Wm. E. B.
Bentley, E. C.
Blage, G., invalided. B. E.
Blake, G. (?). B. E.
Brand, J. B. E.
Brook, J., Master Gunner. B. E.
Brook, R. B. E.
Brown, J. E. B.
Browne, T. E. B.
Buckland, J., Master's Mate. E. B.
Burrough, J., Boy. E. B.
Burrough, S., Master. E. B.
Burton, G., Merchant. E. B.
Butler, M. E. B.
Carowe, J., Quartermaster. E. B.
Chancellor, R., Captain, &c. E. B.
Chapman, W. C.
Chatterton, R., Merchant. B. E.
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Chester, B. C.
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Gittons, W., Merchant. B. E.
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Patterson, E. E. B.
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Welford, R. E. B.
White, J. E. B.
White, W., Quartermaster's Mate. B. E.
Wiggleworth, N. C.
Williams, J. E. B.
Willoughby, G., Merchant. B. E.
Willoughby, Sir Hugh. B. E.
Wilson, R., Master's Mate. B. E.
Wood, R. C.
Woodford, A., Merchant. B. E.

XVI

KING EDWARD AS CAPTAIN OF GAMES

EDWARD, with all his learning, his eager search after knowledge that would be useful to his people, and his serious thoughts, was a boy, and was as fond of fun and of games as any other boy.

His heart yearned for the affection of near relations, but as regards female relatives he was indeed an orphan. His good stepmother was dead. His elder sister and godmother, a gloomy Spanish fanatic, could not supply her place, yet the warm-hearted boy felt affection for Mary. On March 18, 1550, she came to see him, riding through the town with a great cavalcade, all having rosaries round their necks. Brother and sister went to the Council together, but Mary defied them, declaring they had not any right to interfere until the King was of age, and refusing to desist from having Mass in her house. She thought they would not dare to proceed to

extremities. Edward and Mary dined together, and the King presented his sister with the Manor of Hunsdon. Having defied the Council, she rode back to her Essex home. She paid him one more visit at Greenwich, on June 11, 1552, after his illness.[1] After his accession Edward only saw his 'sweet sister Temperance' on occasions of formal visits. On March 17, 1551, Elizabeth came to St. James's with a great company of knights and ladies. On the 19th she came through the park to the Court, and was received with much ceremony.[2] But the brother and sister corresponded, and Edward was in the secret of Sir William Pickering having delivered a token, consisting of a fair diamond, to the Princess Elizabeth.

His cousins, Frances Duchess of Suffolk and Eleanor Countess of Cumberland, came to Court on State occasions, but they were too old to be companions. Lady Jane Grey first appeared at Court during the reception of the Dowager of Scotland. Edward and Jane became intimate. They were exactly the same age, with the same tastes. It would have been a most happy union.

[1] Mary, born at Greenwich, February 8, 1516, was then aged thirty-five.

[2] Elizabeth, born September 7, 1533, was then aged seventeen.

Edward had to seek for his most intimate friendships among the gentlemen of his household. There were ten gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, and it was ordered that two should sleep in the ante-room, and a page in the bed-chamber. All these gentlemen were ten to fifteen years older than Edward, except Barnaby. Six certainly were faithful and devoted servants and friends. These were Sir John Cheke, Sir Henry Sydney, Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir Thomas Wroth, Sir Henry Nevill, and Barnaby.

Sir John Cheke had been known to the King since his early childhood, and had been his tutor for eight years. He was a friend on whom Edward could implicitly rely. In May 1550 Cheke was taken very ill, and his life was in danger. Several letters were written by Cheke from his bed of sickness to his beloved pupil, containing admonitions and advice. In one he recommended Aristotle, 'to whom I beseech you often to resort, especially two chapters in his Politics, "de mutatione regni" and "per quæ regna servantur." For your divinity continue diligently reading Sapientia, Ecclesiasticus, and the New Testament.' The King sent his tutor many messages, and interested himself in Cheke's earnest request that

Dr. Day, the deprived Bishop of Chichester, might be liberated from prison and given subsistence. Dr. Day afterwards showed his gratitude.

At last the doctors reported to the King that there was no hope, and that his tutor must die. 'No,' said Edward, 'Cheke will not die this time; for this morning I begged his life in my prayers and obtained it.'[1] Cheke did recover and remained Edward's faithful and beloved friend and servant to the end.

Henry Sydney was the son of Sir William Sydney by Anne, daughter of Sir Hugh Pagenham. The father was at the battle of Flodden and had seen much service. He died in 1553, and Sir Henry received the grant of Penshurst, which had been held by his father. Edward VI. and Sydney were close friends, with many ideas and pursuits in common. Sydney married Lady Mary Dudley, daughter of the Duke of Northumberland, and was the father of Sir Philip Sydney and of the Countess of Pembroke.

Sir Thomas Wroth was son of Robert Wroth of Durance in Enfield by Jane Hawte, and great-

[1] This speech of Edward VI. was attested as having been made, by the Earl of Huntingdon who heard it. Huntingdon was then a boy. When aged eighty-four he told it, in 1624, to Sir Thomas Cheke of Pyrgo, who told it to Fuller.

great-grandson of John Wroth, Lord Mayor of London in 1361. Edward liked to exercise and play with Sir Thomas, whom he had knighted at the coronation, although there was a great difference of age between them. Once Wroth won ten yards of black velvet from the King; and he was a great favourite, receiving the keeperships of Sion and Enfield Park, and several manors.[1]

Nicholas Throgmorton was beloved by Edward because he had been the intimate and faithful friend of his uncle Thomas, the ill-fated Lord Sudeley. He was himself a wholly reliable servant and friend, and a man of considerable ability. He managed the confidential and secret communications between the King and Mr. Thomas, the Clerk of the Council.

Of Henry Nevill we do not hear much, except that he was faithful, and Barnaby Fitzpatrick was more like a devoted and beloved brother than an ordinary friend.

The other four gentlemen of the Privy Chamber were not so intimate with the King. Sir Philip Hoby was an old diplomatist and an intriguer.

[1] Sir Thomas Wroth's grandson, Sir Robert Wroth, married Sir Henry Sydney's granddaughter Mary, daughter of Robert Sydney Earl of Leicester.

Lord Strange and William Stanley came of a treacherous race, and the former confessed to having been employed by Somerset as a spy. Robert Dudley was chief carver. John Dudley Earl of Warwick was Master of the Horse. The office of Chamberlain was performed by Lord Darcy of Chich.

The King's more intimate friends arranged his movements, his hunting at Oatlands, and his games at Greenwich. At Westminster the time was much occupied in studies, business, and receptions, but on Christmas Eve the Court generally got away to Greenwich, where there was plenty of fun.

Edward VI. was the captain of games and sports. He tells us that in 1549 he organised what he called a 'triumph.' Six gentlemen were to challenge all comers at barriers, jousts, and tourneys, and also to keep a fortress with a garrison of forty men against not more than a hundred assailants. The event came off at Greenwich.

On June 3, 1550, on the occasion of the marriage between John Dudley Earl of Warwick and Lady Anne Seymour at Sheen, the King arranged some events. After the dinner was finished and the dancing over, Edward and the ladies went into

some ante-chambers made of boughs, whence they saw six gentlemen on each side run the course of the field twice over. Then three of one side and two of another ran four courses apiece. Last came the Count of Regunete, with three Italians, who ran four courses with all the gentlemen, and afterwards fought at tourney. Next day, when Robert Dudley was married to Amy Robsart, the King had some more fun. Certain gentlemen strove who should first take away a goose's head which was hung on cross poles. There was also tilt and tourney on foot, and a great number of gentlemen ran at the ring.

On June 19, 1550, Edward records a grand entertainment given at Deptford in his honour, by the Admiral, Lord Clinton. Before supper men stood in the bows of boats, without holding anything, and ran at each other until one fell into the water. After supper there was a fort built on a lighter in the Thames, with three walls and a watch-tower. That grand old seaman, Captain Winter, acted as leader with a garrison of thirty or forty soldiers in yellow and black. To the fort also belonged a galley painted yellow, with men and ammunition in it. Presently there came four pinnaces with their crews handsomely

dressed in white, intending to assault the castle with clods, squibs, canes of fire darts, and bombards. In the assault they carried the outer wall of the castle, driving the garrison into the second ward. There the besieged men rallied, sallying forth and driving away the pinnaces. One was sunk, all the crew jumping out and swimming in the river. Then came Lord Clinton with three other pinnaces, who won the castle by assault, beat the top of it down, and captured the yellow galley. Edward gave warm thanks to the Admiral for all this fun, and returned to Greenwich.

On March 31, 1551, the King got up some sports in which he was himself to take part. There were to be three events. Edward, with sixteen servants of his chamber, was to run at base, shoot, and run at the ring with any seventeen others of the Court. The first day of the challenge came off on April 1. It was prisoner's base or running. To his great delight the King won. The second event came off on April 6. It was 'shooting at rounds' and rovers.' The former was shooting at a target. 'Rovers' was when the mark was a tree or gate, and the distance was greater, the arrows being shot at considerable elevation. The winner had the right of naming the next object.

The name was from 'roving' from one object to another. The King lost the challenge at shooting at rounds, but he won at 'rovers,' which was a much more difficult game.

The challenge at running at the ring, the third event, came off on May 3. King Edward came on the ground with sixteen foot and ten horsemen, dressed in black with coats pulled out with white taffety. Then came the lords, each having three men in the same dress, and the gentlemen with their footmen in white fustian pulled out with black taffety. The opponents all came in yellow taffety. The King's party touched often, which was counted as nothing, and at length the yellows took the ring thrice in 120 courses. Edward's side lost, which seemed very strange to him, for his people had touched so often. After the running at the ring, the King got up a tourney, six of his side against six of theirs.

On May 14 King Edward held a review of his guard. There mustered before him a hundred archers, all of the guard, with two arrows apiece. They then shot together at an inch board. Some pierced quite through and stuck in the other board, several pierced it with the heads of their arrows, the board being very well seasoned timber.

It was ordered that the King should always have in his guard a hundred archers and a hundred halberdiers, either good wrestlers or casters of the bar, or leapers, or tall men of personage. He would thus always have plenty of good men for his games.

On July 4 Lord Clinton invited the King to a banquet at Deptford, to see two of his new ships launched, the *Primrose* and the *Mary Willoughby*.

The King got two of his gentlemen, Sir Henry Sydney and Sir Henry Nevill, with Sir Henry Gates, to challenge all comers. The event came off on January 3, 1552. There were as many as eighteen defendants.

Lord Williams	Sir Anthony Browne
Lord Fitzwalter	Mr. Norris
Lord Bray	Mr. Digby
Lord Fitzwarine	Mr. Knollys
Lord Ambrose Dudley	Mr. Paston
Lord Robert Dudley	Mr. Cary
Sir George Howard	Mr. Drury
Sir William Stafford	Mr. Courtenay
Sir John Parrat	Mr. Warcup

These ran six courses apiece at tilt against the challengers, and accomplished their courses right

well. The challengers entered the tourney, followed by the defendants with two more added, Mr. Tyrell and Mr. Robert Hopton. Both sides distinguished themselves, the King being umpire, and so the challenge was accomplished. In the same night there was first a play, and afterwards a dispute between one that was called Riches, and another that was called Youth, as to which was the best. After some pretty reasoning, six champions were chosen on either side :

On the side of Youth	On the side of Riches
Lord Fitzwalter	Lord Fitzwarine
Lord Ambrose Dudley	Sir Robert Stafford
Sir Anthony Browne	Mr. Courtenay
Sir William Cobham	Mr. Digby
Mr. Cary	Mr. Hopton
Mr. Warcup	Mr. Hungerford

All these fought, two to two, at barriers in the hall. Then there came in two apparelled like Almains (the Earl of Ormonde and Jacques Granado), and two came in like friars (Mr. Drury and Thomas Cobham) ; but the Almains would not suffer the friars to pass until they had fought. After this followed two masques, one of men, the other of women. Then there was a banquet of 120 dishes.

This day was the end of Christmas, and an uncommonly jolly Christmas the young King had made of it.

On January 7, 1552, Edward was again entertained at Deptford by Lord Clinton, and on the 17th he got up a match between six gentlemen of a side at tilt.

John Dudley Earl of Warwick	Lord Ambrose Dudley
Lord Robert Dudley	Lord Fitzwalter
Sir Henry Sydney	Sir Francis Knollys
Sir Henry Nevill	Sir Anthony Browne
Sir Henry Gates	Sir John Parrat
Anthony Digby	Mr. Courtenay

John Dudley's side won by four taintes. These are the events recorded by King Edward; of course there were many unrecorded; and there never was a better or more genial Captain of Games than Edward VI.

XVII

THE PROGRESS

Barnaby had been the King's constant companion from his childhood, and their affection for each other had never been shaken. It was with great reluctance that Edward made up his mind to part with his friend for a short time. The plan was that Barnaby should go to Paris, make himself master of French, and see something of the world, perhaps some operations of war. He was to go to Paris with Lord Clinton's mission, but to be under the special charge of Sir William Pickering, the resident Ambassador. Barnaby was then seventeen. The King's instructions were that he was to be presented to the King of France by Lord Clinton, and when not at Court he was to reside with Pickering. He was to have four servants. Edward told him to send news, learn French, and avoid ladies. Yet if the King of France desired him to dance, he was to do so. His apparel

was to be comely, and his chief pastimes were to be tennis, hunting, and riding. If there was war he was to go to it to learn the art. When he wanted money he was always to advertise the King, and he would send it. In order to give him a better position at the French Court, he was created Baron of Upper Ossory. The King mentions Bartholomew Campaigne as his financial agent. Edward was anxious that his friend should gain experience by accompanying Henry II. in his first campaign against Charles V., which he did from April to October 1552.

The affection between these two lads is very touching. The King's letters are full of arrangements to supply Barnaby with money for his necessities and to buy mules. He would have sent his own mules from England, but he did not think they were good enough. The King was also busy in securing Barnaby's rights to his lands and inheritances in Ireland.

In April 1552 Edward had an attack of measles and smallpox, but he quite recovered, as he told his friend in a letter dated May 3. Great preparations were then made for a progress on an important scale. Edward was to be accompanied by the Lord Treasurer, the officers of his household,

four Kings of Arms, including Ulster, an office recently created by Edward, and two Heralds—altogether 120 mounted men, a brilliant cavalcade. The Duke of Northumberland was absent, attending to affairs in the northern marches.

On June 27, 1552, the King went by water to Putney, whence he rode to Hampton Court, and thence to Oatlands, his favourite country seat, where he remained a week. On July 15 he was at Guildford, and on the 20th he reached Petworth. This was the seat of Percy Earl of Northumberland, then under attainder. It was in the hands of the crown, and the Earl of Arundel had the shooting. From Petworth, after a rest of five days, Edward rode on to Cowdray, the seat of his old friend Sir Anthony Browne. It was a fine house built by Fitzwilliam Earl of Southampton. On the off days the King had a good deal of hunting, and he complained to Barnaby that there was a little too much banqueting at Cowdray. His next halting place was Halnaker, and on July 30 he came to a house called Warblington, belonging to Sir Richard Cotton, the Controller of the Household. August 4 found him at Waltham, a house which the Lord Treasurer had recently 'obtained' from the See of Winchester.

On August 8 King Edward rode into Portsmouth, and here, for two days, he was in his element, devising improvements in the fortifications with Master Chaderton, the Master Gunner. There were to be new forts on each side of the entrance to the harbour, and alterations at the south angle of the enceinte. Edward discussed all the details.

From Portsmouth the King went to Titchfield, the seat of the Earl of Southampton. King Edward met with a loyal reception from the town of Southampton, and went thence to Beaulieu, also Wriothesley property, and once a famous abbey of white monks. August 18 brought him to Christchurch, near the New Forest, where there was rest for a few days.

From Christchurch Edward wrote a charming letter to Barnaby. 'Whereas you have been occupied in killing your enemies, in long marches, in painful journeys, in extreme heat, in sore skirmishings, and divers assaults, we have been occupied in killing of wild beasts, in pleasant journeys, in good fare, and in viewing of fair countries.' At Christchurch the King received three letters from his friend. On August 23 he went on to Woodlands in Dorsetshire. On the

24th he had a most loyal reception at Salisbury, and on the 28th came to Wilton, the seat of the wealthy Earl of Pembroke. His next resting place was Mottisfont, the seat of Lord Sandys of the Vine, once a priory of Austin Friars. On September 5 he came to Winchester, where another cordial reception awaited him.

From Winchester King Edward went to the splendid seat of the Lord Treasurer at Basing, where he rested for three days, and then went to Newbury and Reading, reaching Windsor on the 15th. He began to pine for his dear friend, Barnaby, who had been absent nearly a year. He wrote to him, from Windsor, telling him to come back, and again from Hampton Court.

The progress was a great success, and all the people were in love with their gracious young King. He was the best and most popular Sovereign that England had seen for many a long day. But alas ! the end was approaching. On November 14 Edward again wrote to his friend, saying ' I look for you shortly.' On the 22nd he made the last entry in his Journal.

Barnaby was hurrying back from the seat of war. On December 9 he took his final leave of the French Court at Compiègne, with honourable

testimonials from Henry II. A few days afterwards the two friends were united, never again to be parted but by death.

LETTERS FROM THE KING TO BARNABY

Date	Place	Subject	Where to be found
I. 1548. May 9 .	Westminster .	A few lines in Latin 'amantissimo Barnabæ'	Original. Lord Castletown. Printed by Nichols. Copied for Horace Walpole. Printed by him and Lord C.
II. 1551. Dec. 3 .	Westminster .	—	Original. Lord Castletown. Printed by Walpole and first Lord C.
III. 1551. Dec. 20	—	About Somerset's trial. Advice and instructions	Fuller's 'Church History.'
IV. 1552. Jan. 25	Westminster .	News about games, tilts, barriers. Next letter will be in French	Original. Lord Castletown. Printed also in Fuller's 'Worthies' (Middlesex).
V. 1552. Feb. 25	Westminster .	Sending money .	Original. Lord Castletown. Printed also by Nichols.
VI. 1552. May 3 .	Greenwich . .	Well after measles. Barnaby to go to the French camp	Fuller's 'Worthies' (Middlesex).
VII. 1552. Aug. 22	Christchurch .	Account of the progress	Original. Lord Castletown. Printed also in Fuller's 'Church History.'
VIII. 1552. Sept. 24	Windsor . .	Barnaby to come back. A whole year absent	Original. Lord Castletown. Printed also by Nichols.
IX. 1552. Oct. 7 .	Hampton Court .	Receipt of letter from Rheims	Fuller's 'Worthies' (Middlesex).
X. 1552. Nov. 14	Westminster .	Looking for Barnaby shortly. Address: 'To our well-beloved servant, Barnaby Fitzpatrick, one of the Gentlemen of our Chamber'	Original. Lord Castletown. Printed also by Nichols. This letter was mutilated by Lady Holland. She cut off the signature and address with consent of Anne and Gertrude Fitzpatrick.
Sir Wm. Cecil to Barnaby.			
1551. Dec. 22	—	Commendation. Bred up in learning and manners with the King	Fuller's 'Worthies.'

LETTERS FROM BARNABY

Date	Place	Subject	Where to be found
1551. Dec. 8.	—	—	—
1551. Dec. 28	Paris . . .	Reply to King of Dec. 20. Will follow instructions. Amusing story about an image	Fuller's 'Worthies.'
1552. Jan. 12	—	—	Not existing.
Jan. 19	—	—	
Apr. 2.	Nancy . .	Acknowledged by the King in letter, May 3	
Apr. 15	Nancy . .	—	
May 26 / June 19?	—	Received by the King at Christchurch	
Aug. 1	Coucy . . .	—	
Oct. 4.	Rheims . .	Acknowledged by the King on October 7	
Dec. 9.	Compiègne. .	Barnaby took leave of French Court with very honourable testimonials from Henry II.	

MOVEMENTS OF KING EDWARD VI

Date	Place	Date	Place
1547		1550	
January 31 .	The Tower.	June 4 . .	Sheen (R. Dudley = Amy Robsart).
February 19 .	Westminster Palace.	June 6 . .	To Greenwich.
September 18	Oatlands.	June 19 . .	Deptford. Sports on the river.
October 12 .	Age ten.	June 25 . .	Greenwich.
1548		July 23 . .	Windsor.
October 12 .	Age eleven.	August 12 .	Guildford.
		August 20 .	Oking.
1549		August 26 .	Oatlands.
March . .	Greenwich.	September 8 .	Leaving Nonsuch.
April 4 . .	To Westminster.	September 13	Leaving Oatlands.
April 18 . .	Sydney and Nevill appointed Gentlemen of the Chamber.	October 4 .	To Sheen.
		October 12 .	Age thirteen.
October . .	Hampton Court.	October 16 .	To Westminster.
October 6 .	Windsor.	December 24.	To Greenwich.
October 12 .	Age twelve. Westminster.	1551	
		January .	Westminster.
1550		March 17 .	Elizabeth came to see him.
March 18 .	Mary came to him.	March 27 .	To Greenwich.'
May 17 . .	To Greenwich.	April 1 . .	King won at running.
June 3 . .	To Sheen (J. Dudley = Anne Seymour).	April 6 . .	King won at rovers.

MOVEMENTS OF KING EDWARD VI.—*cont.*

Date	Place	Date	Place
1551		1552	
July 4 . .	To Deptford. Launch of ships *Primrose* and *Mary Willoughby*.	July 15 . .	To Guildford.
		July 20 . .	To Petworth.
		July 25 . .	To Cowdray.
July 7 . .	To Westminster.	July 27 . .	To Halnaker.
July 28 . .	Coursing hares in Hyde Park.	July 30 . .	To Warblington.
		August 4 .	To Waltham.
August 15 .	Barnaby and R. Dudley appointed Gentlemen of the Chamber.	August 8 .	To Portsmouth.
		August 10 .	To Titchfield.
		August 14 .	To Southampton.
August 22 .	To Windsor.	August 16 .	To Beaulieu.
August 26 .	To Oatlands.	August 18 .	To Christchurch.
September 10	To Farnham.	August 23 .	To Woodlands.
September 18	To Windsor.	August 24 .	To Salisbury.
September 23	To Oatlands.	August 28 .	To Wilton.
September .	At Westminster.	September 2 .	To Mottisfont.
September 28	The King kept Michaelmas in the robes of the Garter.	September 5 .	To Winchester.
		September 7 .	To Basing.
		September 10	To Newbury (Denning-ton Castle).
October 12 .	Age fourteen.		
December 23 .	To Greenwich.	September 12	To Reading.
		September 15	To Windsor.
1552		September 20	To Hampton Court.
January 21 .	To Westminster.	October 12 .	Age fifteen.
April 2 . .	Sick of measles and smallpox.	November 22 .	Last entry in his Journal.
		—	At Westminster.
—	Quite recovered.		
April 30. .	To Greenwich.	1553	
June 11 . .	Mary came to see him.	April . .	Removed to Greenwich.
June 27 . .	To Hampton Court.	July 6 . .	Died.
July 7 . .	To Oatlands.		

XVIII

DEATH OF KING EDWARD VI

The most sad event in history is the crushing of bright and well-founded hopes. Young Edward had given abundant proofs of his goodness and his abilities, and had raised the brightest hopes throughout England. Though only a boy, he had devoted himself to his duties, and with greater success than most men. He was fully aware of the evil consequences of bad and dishonest government by his predecessors and his Council. He had studied the remedies and was ready to apply them. His reign is for ever memorable for the establishment of the Church of England, the purest form that Christianity can take in days of modern civilisation, and the nearest to the divine original. His reign saw the completion of the Prayer Book as we now possess it, except for a few changes after the Restoration. He made a cordial alliance with France. He promoted trade

with foreign countries, and he despatched an Arctic expedition, the best nursery for our navy. Yet, even at the last, he was only in his sixteenth year.

The year opened gloomily. The King had overtaxed his strength during the progress. A bad cough tormented him through the winter. In April his lungs were seriously affected, and he was spitting blood. Dr. Owen, who had attended on Edward since his birth, was quite at a loss, and called in other physicians. The King was removed to Greenwich, and the change of air seemed to do him good. In the first week of May a decided improvement was reported. On May 7 the Duke of Northumberland wrote to Sir William Cecil that 'our Sovereign Lord doth begin very joyfully to encrease and amende, the physicians having no doubt of the thorro recoverie of his Highness.' His sister Mary wrote a letter on May 16 congratulating her brother on his recovery from what she called a 'rheum cough.' But a day or two afterwards he was much worse. The very worst was feared.

Northumberland was in dismay. He had neglected to calculate on this possibility. He was as rapacious as his colleagues, with greater personal ambition. But it would be unreasonable

not to credit him with some feeling for the public good. A man who had worked for the public service, as he had done, for over fifteen years, and had guided the helm of State for nearly four years, must have been largely influenced by public motives. With the accession of Mary all he had laboured to establish would be swept away: the Established Church, the headship of the sovereign, the French alliance. In their places there would be papal usurpation, probably persecution, and ruinous subservience to Spain. A patriotic statesman might well think it his duty to endeavour to avert such a disaster. Suffolk and Northampton would follow him blindly. Pembroke, and apparently Shrewsbury, acted with him, but not blindly. Doubtless there were hurried consultations and decisions. Pembroke had great wealth and great influence.

It was decided that the two half-sisters should be passed over, and that Jane Grey should be placed next in succession. This would be a wise and patriotic arrangement under the circumstances. But their next decision was a fatal blunder. Northumberland and Pembroke determined to marry the two sisters, Jane and Catherine Grey, to their two sons. Jane was only fifteen,

Catherine barely thirteen. The marriages took place at Durham House in the Strand, Northumberland's town residence, on May 21. It was thus made to appear that personal ambition was the motive of the change; which aroused the jealousy of the Council and the suspicion of the people. These marriages were conceived and solemnised on the spur of the moment. If Northumberland had ever thought of it before, he would not have allowed all his sons who had reached man's estate to marry—John to Anne Seymour, Ambrose to Anne Whorwood, Robert to Amy Robsart. He would have reserved his eldest son for Jane. As it was, there was only his fourth son Guilford, a lad not yet seventeen, left for Jane. These marriages were a fatal blunder, and probably destroyed any small chance there might have been of success.

The selection of Jane Grey was quite proper, and, with the consent of Parliament, would have been legal. Jane, though so young in years, had already shown firmness, capacity, and knowledge of affairs. Her learning in divinity and religious controversial subjects was profound. Roger Ascham, when he visited her at Bradgate, found her reading Plato in Greek. A competent modern

judge said that her Latin was so good and so classical that it would be dangerous for any scholar of the present day to enter into competition with her.[1] Her disposition was gentle and affectionate, but firm as a rock where any principle was concerned. There was sympathy and affection and community of tastes between King Edward and his cousin. Jane would have made him an ideal wife. She would have been an ideal Queen Regnant.

Northumberland's next step was the delicate one of persuading the dying King to alter the succession by Letters Patent. He knew that they would not be valid until they were ratified by an Act of Parliament, but Parliament was to meet on September 18. The consent of the King and of all the notables of the realm would be a necessary and important preliminary step.

The Duke of Northumberland must have represented to Edward that the accession of Mary would mean the destruction of the reformed religion and many other calamities. This would have a great effect on the young King's mind, and to avert such ruin to gospel truth and such a calamity to his people he would feel that an

[1] Dr. Noehden to Sir Henry Ellis, referring to the letter of Jane to Bullinger.

alteration of the succession would be right. Mary was legally illegitimate, and she had formally acknowledged the fact. Parliament empowered Henry VIII. to settle the succession, but with regard to claimants who were legally in the succession, which Mary, as a bastard, was not.[1] It must have been much more difficult to persuade Edward to consent to the disinherison of Elizabeth, a dear sister, who was also a good Protestant. It must have been represented to him that if he allowed the exclusion of Mary, the exclusion of Elizabeth was inevitable, because the two cases were identical. The difficulties arising from the exclusion of one, and not both, would be insuperable, both being disqualified on the same grounds. Very unwillingly, and as it were through force of circumstances, authority was at length obtained.

[1] No doubt both Mary and Elizabeth were bastards by law. It had been enacted that there had been no true marriage between Henry and Catherine, owing to her previous marriage with Henry's brother. Consequently Mary was legally a bastard. It had been enacted that there had been no true marriage between Henry and Anne Boleyn, because she was previously betrothed to the Earl of Northumberland. Consequently Elizabeth was legally a bastard.

There was a dispensation for Catherine's marriage, which was, therefore, a true marriage. There was no such betrothal as was alleged in the case of Anne. Her marriage was, therefore, a true one. In reality both sisters were perfectly legitimate, but not in the eye of the laws as dictated by Henry VIII.

It was characteristic of Edward that, when he had once consented to alter the succession, though he was very ill and suffering, he took the matter into his own hands. He drew up a device for the succession, written by himself, and the judges were required to embody it in a legal document. Chief Justice Montagu represented that Letters Patent could not override an Act of Parliament. He was told that they would be ratified by Parliament, and that meanwhile he would have a pardon under the Great Seal. He said that he had sixteen children to think of, one of them maimed for life at the battle of Musselburgh.

On June 15 Montagu was ordered to come to Greenwich again with three other judges and the law officers. They were taken to a chamber behind the dining-room, and then brought before the King with all the Council present. Montagu was an old, weak man. He considered that Mary could not legally punish treason done in a former reign; so he consented to draw up the Letters Patent. They were engrossed on parchment. On June 21 thirty-three of the Council signed. Cranmer was long doubtful, but eventually signed from conviction. Finally twenty-three peers, nine

eldest sons of peers, three prelates, twenty-three great officers of State and officers of the Household, the Lord Chancellor, two Chief Justices, six judges and the law officers of the Crown, the Lord Mayor and twenty City merchants, in fact, all the notables of the realm, signed the Letters Patent declaring Jane to be the rightful heir to the crown. There were eighty-seven signatures.

All this worry and excitement must have hastened the poor boy's end. He was dying of a rapid consumption. He was surrounded by devoted and loving friends, who guarded him from all danger and watched over him with untiring devotion.[1]

Sir John Cheke, Sydney, Wroth, Throgmorton, and Barnaby were always with their dying master. They raised him up in their arms to make his breathing easier, and ministered to him continually.

[1] The story about a woman undertaking to cure Edward, but refusing to tell the means, and of his having been handed entirely over to her, is absurd on the face of it. The story is told by Hayward, a very untrustworthy authority, without giving any reference. The Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber would not have allowed anything of the kind. The tale about the shocking condition of Edward's body cannot be true. It is the unreliable gossip of a foreign ambassador. Such a state of the body could only be caused by mineral poisons, and Edward was certainly not poisoned. It was matter of life and death to Northumberland that Edward should continue to live and not die. Edward's disease (consumption) would give rise to nothing of the kind.

On July 6 Edward was sinking fast. He was raised up by one or other of his loving friends, and towards evening he gasped out his last prayer in broken sentences:

'Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life.'

'Take me among thy chosen.'

'Howbeit not my will but thy will be done.'

'Lord, I commit my spirit to thee.'

'O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee.'

'Yet for thy chosen's sake, send me life and health that I may truly serve thee.'

'O my God! bless thy people, and save thine inheritance.'

'O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England.'

'O my Lord God, defend this realm from papistry.'

'That I and my people may praise thy holy name.'

'For Jesus Christ's sake.'[1]

A little later the dying boy said something in so

[1] Fuller's *Church History*, Book VII. c. xvi. p. 425; Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1895.

low a voice that it was not understood. Dr. Owen told him that he was heard to speak, 'but what you said we know not.' The King smiled, and said that he was praying to God. After an interval of silence, he said 'I am faint. Lord, have mercy upon me, and take my spirit.' These were his last words. Towards nine in the evening the dearly loved King breathed his last, in the arms of one of these faithful friends—Henry Sydney, it is said.

There stood round his bed Sir Henry Sydney, Sir Thomas Wroth, Dr. Owen, Dr. Wendy, Barnaby, and a page named Christopher Salmon.

Surely never did purer spirit ascend to Heaven. Never was king so deeply mourned, and never was there greater cause.

The Will of King Edward VI. is in the form of a rough draft in the handwriting of Sir William Petre, the Secretary of State.

'In the young years of any of my heirs my executors are not to enter upon any wars, except on occasion of invasion, nor to suffer religion to be altered.

'Payment of debts to be made, not by devices recently decided, but by other means. The expenditure of the household to be reduced.

'My sisters each to have £1000 a year, and £10,000 for marriage, if approved.

'Crown lands not to be given away in fee simple.

'Debts to be paid with as much speed as may be.

'All injuries to be recompensed.

'The College of St. John at Cambridge to have £100 a year and a new college to be erected.' This was out of affectionate regard for Sir John Cheke and Sir William Cecil, who were both of St. John's.

'A grant to the city of London touching the Savoy.

'All who have grants from us, to enjoy our grants.

'My father's tomb, and those of Henry VI. and Edward IV. to be made at Windsor.'

This Will shows how closely the young King watched the proceedings of his Council, and how clearly he saw their mistakes. No wars were to be undertaken in a minority such as that unwise Scottish enterprise. The payment of crown debts was not to be effected by seizing church property, but by honest finance. Crown lands were not to be given away in fee simple among themselves. Thus the King's last words contain a well-deserved

rebuke, and an intimation that, young as he was, he had been watching and understanding their practices.

Edward's unfeeling sister entirely disregarded all the wishes expressed in his Will. Personally she had received nothing but thoughtful liberality and kindness from him.

The physicians and Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber duly reported that his Majesty King Edward VI. died of a consumption, at about nine in the evening on July 6, 1553.

Fortunately the accession of Mary was delayed for a fortnight, and that gave time for the King's friends to remove his papers and literary remains to places of safety. Hence several of young Edward's writings were preserved for posterity. Mary could only destroy the letters to Cranmer, and perhaps some of Barnaby's letters.

The funeral was delayed for a month. Mary was persuaded by those who were less bigoted and more politic than herself, not to interfere with the funeral of her brother according to the ritual of the Church of England, then by law established. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, the arrangements being made by his devoted servants and friends, under the superintendence of Sir Gilbert

Dethick, the Garter King at Arms. The body was brought by water from Greenwich to Westminster Stairs, where the procession was formed.

On August 8, 1553, the sad procession wended its way to Westminster Abbey, where, six and a half years before, the people had seen the bright boy crowned, a sight filling them with fond hopes for the future. Now all was over, and a black cloud was hanging over the land.

First came a great company of children and clerks singing.

Next two Heralds.

A standard with a dragon.

The King's servants in black.

A standard with a white greyhound.

Officers of the household.

Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber.

Former comrades of the King.

More Heralds.

A standard.

Norroy mounted, bearing the helmet and crest.

Grand banner of arms.

Divers other banners.

Clarenceux mounted with target, garter, and sword.

Garter mounted with the King's coat armoury.

The chariot with horses trapped to the ground.
On each horse a man in black, each with a banneret of the King's arms.
On the chariot, which was covered with cloth of gold, the effigy lying piteously with crown of gold, great collar, sceptre, and robes.
Great banner of the Garter.
Great banner of the Red Cross.
Great banner of Queen Jane Seymour's arms.
Great banner of the Queen Dowager's arms.

CHIEF MOURNER

The Marquis of Winchester.

The Earl of Oxford	The Earl of Sussex
The Earl of Shrewsbury	The Earl of Bath
The Earl of Worcester	The Earl of Pembroke
Lord Abergavenny	Lord Windsor
Lord Borough	Lord Berkeley
Lord Stourton	Lord Cobham

all in mantles of cloth of gold lined with white satin.

The grave was near the east end of the Lady Chapel, under an altar of brass, with four fluted pillars and capitals supporting a canopy. It has since been destroyed. Only the King's name on the pavement now marks the place.

The Archbishop of Canterbury read the beautiful funeral service of the Church of England. He had christened his godson Edward, had crowned him, and the King's burial was destined to be the last public service the future martyr would ever perform. Good old Cranmer! All hope for religion, liberty, even faith, seemed to have departed. The earnest labours of the old man's life seemed to have been useless. All seemed buried in young Edward's grave. Yet it was not so. England had to pass through a fiery furnace of persecution. But it would be extinguished. Then all Edward's good work would be restored, to last for ages. Cranmer was burnt before the promised land was reached. Yet his martyrdom, equally with those of Ridley and Latimer, 'lighted a candle which, by God's grace, has never been put out.'

Dr. Day, the popish Bishop of Chichester, who had been deprived, preached the funeral sermon. Sir John Cheke had interceded for him with Edward, and the young King had interfered in his behalf. He now showed his gratitude for help and kindness from a sovereign whose death all had cause to mourn.

Several authentic portraits of Edward VI. are in existence, most of them attributed to Holbein,

but as Holbein died in 1543, none of them can be by him which were painted after Edward reached his seventh year.

1. A child's head as sketched by Holbein.

2. A finished picture, half length, done in 1538, the property of the Earl of Yarborough. A duplicate at Herrenhausen. Engraved by Hollar.

3. A whole length at the age of two, at Sion, by Holbein.

4. The Duke of Buccleuch's miniature, age four.

5. A portrait when aged seven, at Burleigh.

6. The picture at Christ's Hospital, painted when he was nine.

7. A profile in Holbein's Portfolio at Windsor.

8. Another excellent portrait at Christ's Hospital which, in the time of Elizabeth, belonged to Sir Anthony Mildmay.

9. The portrait at Petworth represents Edward in the year of his accession; probably by Guillim Stretes. It was engraved for Lodge's portraits.

10. A portrait at Hampton Court.

11. A portrait at Windsor at the age of fifteen, also probably by Guillim Stretes.

12. A portrait at Kimbolton.

13. A portrait at Loseley in Surrey, painted in 1547 at the time of the coronation.

14. A portrait at St. Chad's, Lichfield. The King at the age of twelve.

15. A portrait at Chicksands, Beds. The King at the age of fifteen.

16. A portrait at Norford, Norfolk.

17. A portrait painted in 1552, which the King presented to Barnaby. It is now the property of Lord Castletown, Barnaby's representative. This is the latest. The shape of the face is more oval, and the expression older.

18. The great picture at Bridewell. The King transferring that palace to the City. It was engraved by Vertue in 1750.

19. Portrait by Guillim Stretes, panel, circular frame, a foot across, at the Manchester Exhibition.

Painters to Edward VI. : Anthony Toto, Guillim Stretes, Nicholas Lygarde.

NOTABLES OF THE REALM WHO SIGNED THE LETTERS PATENT FOR JANE TO BE QUEEN

Peers

Duke of Northumberland.
Duke of Suffolk.
Marquis of Northampton.
Marquis of Winchester (Lord Treasurer).
Earl of Oxford.
Earl of Arundel.
Earl of Shrewsbury.

Earl of Westmorland.
Earl of Huntingdon.
Earl of Worcester.
Earl of Pembroke.
Earl of Bedford (Lord Privy Seal).
Lord Abergavenny.
Lord Grey de Wilton.
Lord Clinton (Lord High Admiral).
Lord Cobham.
Lord Bray.
Lord Windsor.
Lord Wentworth.
Lord Willoughby of Parham.
Lord Darcy of Chich.
Lord Paget of Beaudesert.
Lord Rich.

Eldest Sons of Peers

The Earl of Warwick (Northumberland).
Lord Fitzwarine (Bath).
Lord Fitzwalter (Sussex).
Lord Talbot (Shrewsbury).
Lord St. John of Basing (Winchester).
Lord Russell (Bedford).
Lord Fitzgerald (Kildare).
Lord Strange (Derby).
Lord Thomas Grey (brother of Suffolk).

Prelates

Dr. Cranmer (Archbishop of Canterbury).
Dr. Goodrich (Bishop of Ely. Lord Chancellor).
Dr. Ridley (Bishop of London).

Great Officers of State

Sir J. Baker (Chancellor of the Exchequer).
Sir J. Gates (Chancellor of the Duchy).

Sir T. Cheyney (Lord Warden of Cinque Ports).
Sir W. Petre, Sir W. Cecil (Secretaries of State).
Sir E. North.
Sir Anthony St. Leger.
Sir Anthony Browne.
Sir J. Mason.
Sir H. Gage.

Household

Sir W. Cavendish (Treasurer).
Sir R. Cotton (Controller).
Sir R. Sadleir (Wardrobe).
Sir John Cheke, Sir Thomas Wroth, Sir Henry Sydney, Sir N. Throgmorton (Gentlemen of the Chamber).
Sir Rd. Southwell.
Sir R. Sackville.
Sir M. Berkeley.
Sir R. Blount.
J. Lucas.

Judges

Chief Justices.—Montagu, Cholmley.
Chief Baron.—Bradshawe.
Master of the Rolls.—Southwell.
Judges.—Brown, Portman, Bowes.
Speaker.—J. Dyer.
Attorney-General.—Griffin.
Solicitor-General.—Gosnold.

City

The Lord Mayor—Sir G. Barne.
Sheriff of Middlesex.
Six Aldermen.
Six Merchants of the Staple.
Six Merchant Adventurers.

(*Eighty-seven Signatures.*)

XIX

THE MARIAN TERROR—FATE OF KING EDWARD'S RELATIONS AND FRIENDS

King Edward left religion settled by the Act of Uniformity, the Prayer Book, and the Articles of Religion. He had plans ready for paying the crown debts, for restoring the currency, for promoting trade, and for ameliorating the condition of the people. His Will provided for his sisters. His learned and high-minded young cousin Jane had the ability and firmness to complete his work. His friendly relations with France, so important for the welfare of his country, would be maintained. With these hopes and in this belief the young King died.

The Council and the great officers of State duly proclaimed Queen Jane on July 10, 1553, in accordance with the Letters Patent they had all signed, and in anticipation of the assent of

Parliament. Jane herself was a minor, a child of fifteen, a passive instrument. The Council was alone responsible.

But it was a forlorn hope. For a chance of success months of preparation were necessary. An attempt to secure the person of Mary failed. She rode away to Norfolk to gather her supporters. The people were ignorant of Mary's true character. Northumberland marched against her, but the general feeling was for the princess who was next in succession by Act of Parliament, and of whom they knew nothing. The attempt was bold and courageous. If the country had known Mary as she came to be known afterwards, Northumberland would have had the unanimous support of the nation. As it was his troops would not obey him. In his absence the cowardly and treacherous Council abandoned the young Queen to whom they had sworn allegiance, and fearing for their own safety, they proclaimed Mary on July 20. The worst traitor was Pembroke. He had worked with Northumberland throughout. A man of great influence and great wealth, his support was necessary for the attempt. But seeing how things were going, he went into the City on the 19th and made a violent speech in favour of Mary.

LADY JANE GREY.

From an Engraving by J. Thomson.

This turned the scale. For Pembroke safety and riches came before honour.

Northumberland was of course condemned to death, and by the very same treacherous and dishonoured politicians who had joined him in proclaiming Jane. The Marquis of Northampton, the Archbishop, the young Queen, Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir John Gates, and the five young Dudleys were also condemned. The Duke's end was sad enough. The attempt was bold. It failed, and he did not want to pay the penalty. He cannot be blamed for returning to the religion of his youth. But he abandoned all dignity when he begged for his life.[1] He had never feared death. Winning his spurs under Suffolk, he served his country valorously at Leith, at Boulogne, and in the charge at Musselburgh, and he went alone among the Norfolk rebels with his life in his hand. He was brave enough. Mr. Froude, who has a kindly word for him, suggests that he felt his cause to be bad. But he cannot have thought that.

[1] Of all Simon Renard's fabrications the most absurd is that Mary wanted to spare Northumberland, but that he prevented it. Of course the story is not corroborated by anyone else. Renard knew that his master desired the execution of Northumberland, and he wanted to have the credit of having gratified that desire, in spite of some opposition.

Sir John Gates, the young King's faithful Chancellor of the Duchy, and Sir Thomas Palmer were beheaded with the Duke on August 22.

For two reasons Northumberland's memory deserves respect. His invariable loyalty to and consideration for his young master cover a multitude of sins. His very able command of the fleet when England was threatened with invasion should remind us that Dudley was a gallant Admiral before he was a politician. His flagship, the *Great Harry*, was entirely destroyed by fire within a week of her Admiral's death.[1]

It has been sa'd that Mary showed leniency at the opening of her reign, because she only had eleven people condemned to death, of which number only three were executed at once. But two more were executed soon afterwards, one was deprived of all his titles and ruined, another died in prison, another was burnt. Only two of the young Dudleys escaped, having powerful protectors. It must be remembered who the traitors were, from Mary's point of view. They were the principal notables of the kingdom—the Privy Council, the great officers of State, a third of the Peerage, the Judges, the Law Officers, the Speaker,

[1] His wife died and was buried at Chelsea in 1554.

the Lord Mayor, and the principal City merchants. Some were too powerful to be touched, and able to protect their friends. Others could not well be removed. The administrative business of the country must be carried on. This could not be done by the Rochesters and Inglefields of Mary's household. She was obliged to pardon many 'traitors,' and to be satisfied with three executions at first. It was not leniency but necessity.

But we have only to do with Mary in her attempted destruction of her good brother's work, and in her treatment of his relations and friends.

She began, in a packed Parliament, with the repeal of Edward's legislation. The Act of Uniformity, the Prayer Book, the Articles of Religion, were abolished, and the atrocious Act for burning heretics was reimposed on December 12, 1554. In defiance of the interests of the country, and the wishes of the people, Mary next negotiated a marriage with the Prince of Spain, son of her cousin, the Emperor Charles V., who was made King of Naples for the occasion. To prevent this national calamity there was an insurrection in Kent under Sir Thomas Wyatt, and attempts were made at risings by the Duke of Suffolk in

the Midlands, and by Sir Peter Carew in Devonshire. These attempts failed. Hundreds of the poor followers of Wyatt were hanged, and the City of London was like a shambles. The Duke of Suffolk, his brother Lord Thomas Grey, and Guilford Dudley, a lad of seventeen, were beheaded.

The worst crime was the execution of Jane. Mary's cousin was a child of fifteen, a minor and not responsible, a passive instrument in the hands of the Council. The members of that Council, the treacherous men who had proclaimed and had then betrayed and deserted her to save themselves, were alone responsible. They were now seeking pardons and favours from Mary. Not one raised his voice against the death of the victim they had betrayed.

The girl Queen[1] showed the nobility and beauty of her character in adversity. She sustained her weak vacillating father by her loving exhortations, and strengthened him to die with dignity. She patiently listened to the arguments of popish bigots who were sent to persecute her, while her

[1] Jane has exactly the same right to be reckoned among the sovereigns of England as Edward V. Both were proclaimed by the Council and great officers of State, but neither was acknowledged by Parliament. The cases are identical.

HENRY GREY, DUKE OF SUFFOLK.

From an Engraving by W. Holl after the Painting by Mark Gerard.

learning enabled her to refute their sophisms. She died as she had lived, a true Queen, firm, courageous, gentle. Yet she was only just sixteen. The crime was perpetrated on February 12, 1554. England has had no more noble sovereigns than the young boy and girl cousins, King Edward VI. and Queen Jane.

After all these executions, Mary was unsatiated. Her own sister Elizabeth was to be the next victim. Here was the great danger for the country. After Jane's death, Elizabeth was the sole hope of England. She was thrown into prison, and several victims were tortured to extract evidence against her. But the judges declared there was no case. Lord Howard of Effingham vowed vengeance if she was made away with in prison. Elizabeth was sent from the Tower to Woodstock as a prisoner, as she believed, to be murdered, 'tanquam ovis' she said. When Philip arrived he insisted that Elizabeth should be liberated and treated as a princess. Philip certainly saved several other lives, whether from policy or, as it may perhaps be hoped, at least partly, from a better motive.

Lord Paget made his peace, and was on Mary's Council. To his credit be it recorded that he opposed the continuance of vindictive executions.

He declared that the people would not endure it. A certain amount of timidity was mingled with Mary's severity. She was frightened of her ruthless father, and signed the recantations he demanded. She was alarmed, to some extent, by Paget's representations of the danger of her proceedings. Thus Paget succeeded in saving the young Dudleys except Guilford, and the sons of Lord Cobham.

The Marquis of Northampton was spared because his brother-in-law Pembroke was too powerful to offend, but he was attainted, and deprived of all his titles.

The religious persecutions were the most horrible events in Mary's reign. Five prelates and 270 other innocent persons were burnt at the stake. Among young Edward's preachers were the devout and kind-hearted Ridley, honest and fearless old Latimer, the accomplished Bradford. The Archbishop of Canterbury, too confident in his courage, refused to escape, which he could easily have done. The good old man knew not his own weakness. He could not face the horrors of the stake, and he recanted. Mary's conduct with regard to Cranmer shows her want of intelligence even more than her vindictive cruelty. She insisted on his being burnt, after suffering many insults and indignities. If she had kept her

word Cranmer would have gone forth a discredited and broken-hearted old man. As it was, he tore up the recantation and threw it in the faces of his tormentors, declaring that the hand that signed the accursed document should be burnt first. Thus King Edward's beloved godfather, who christened, crowned, and buried him, finally won a martyr's crown.

Great numbers of prelates and other dignitaries of the Church of England, with many members of their flocks, escaped abroad.

We now turn to the fates of young Edward's nearest and dearest friends.

The Duchess of Suffolk, mother of his young Brandon companions, escaped abroad with her husband, Mr. Bertie. Her son, Lord Willoughby, was born in the church porch at Wesel, and eventually the Duchess and Mr. Bertie found a hospitable refuge with Sigismund, King of Poland. Mary wanted to confiscate the property of the Duchess, but Parliament asserted itself for once, and refused assent to the injustice.

Edward's tutors, Dr. Cox and Sir John Cheke, escaped abroad. But the saddest fate was that of the latter, the young King's beloved and life-long friend. Cheke was travelling in Flanders when he was treacherously kidnapped by Philip's

order, and handed over to Mary. He had not the courage or strength of will to face the fearful ordeal of being burnt. He consented to recant in order to escape this agonising form of death. He had to do so in the most public and insulting manner in Mary's presence. He went forth a shamed and broken-hearted man, and died on September 13, 1557, just a year before the Marian terror had run its allotted course.

John Hales, the patriotic opponent of enclosures, escaped abroad.

Of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, Barnaby was protected by his cousin, the Earl of Ormonde. Sir Henry Sydney does not appear to have been molested. Sir Thomas Wroth escaped abroad, with King Edward's able diplomatist, Sir Richard Morrison, and many others. John Harington, the faithful servant and friend of Edward's favourite uncle, Lord Sudeley, was thrown into prison, as an adherent of Elizabeth.

Nicholas Throgmorton was seized and tried for his life. But he successfully defended himself, in spite of the injustice and partiality of Judge Bromley. The jury would have no more slaughter, and boldly acquitted him. It was a most courageous thing to do. The honest and patriotic jurymen were imprisoned and heavily fined.

Grafton, the King's printer, was discharged. Handsome Cuthbert Vaughan, the keeper of Edward's dogs, escaped hanging by a hair's breadth.

Of the Secretaries of State, Petre was always a concealed papist. Cecil outwardly complied, and escaped death. Sir Thomas Smith retired to Hill Hall. He would neither fly the country nor comply. For some reason or other he was not molested. It is supposed that Gardiner protected him, more likely it was Paget.

The fate of young Edward's able and learned political instructor, Master William Thomas, was very sad. He was dismissed from all his employments by Mary. He took refuge with Sir Peter Carew in Devonshire, but Sir Peter fled to France, followed by a great number of young gentlemen of the West Country. Mary demanded that they should be given up, but Henry II. nobly refused. Thomas wandered from county to county, and was captured in Gloucestershire on February 20, 1554. Brought to the Tower, he heard that he was to be tortured to extort some accusation against the Princess Elizabeth. He feared for his powers of endurance, and tried to drive a knife into his breast, but was prevented. Such a self-immolation would surely have been pardonable. He was

tortured but remained steadfast, and nothing was extorted from him. He was tried on an accusation of having argued against the Spanish marriage, and compassed the Queen's life. There was one witness named Arnold, proved by Throgmorton to have been a notorious liar.[1] It was a murder with the mockery of judicial forms. The trial was at the Guildhall on May 8, 1554. On the 18th Master Thomas was drawn on a sledge to Tyburn, hanged, beheaded, and quartered. His head was stuck on London Bridge, his quarters in front of his house. His last words were 'I die for my country.'

Mary ended by breaking King Edward's peace with France, plunging the country into a disastrous war by order of her Spanish husband, and losing Calais.

At last the unhappy bigot was called to her account. Perhaps her sanity may be doubted. The five years of misrule came to an end. England had to pass through a fiery furnace of persecution, and then the prayer of the good young king was mercifully and happily answered.

[1] Wyatt, after torture and when hoping for mercy, also accused Mr. Thomas of proposing the Queen's death. He was accusing others to save himself, including the Princess Elizabeth. His evidence in such circumstances is quite worthless, as Strype has pointed out. Wyatt recanted before he died, certainly as regards Elizabeth, and probably as regards his other accusations extorted under torture.

QUEEN MARY.

From an Engraving by H. T. Ryall after the Painting by Holbein.

MARIAN BISHOPS

Sees	Names	Characters	Cruelties	How dealt with in 1558	Elizabethan Successors
Canterbury	Pole	Carnifex Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ	Great promoter of burning	Died November 1558	Parker.
York	Heath	Respectable	Kept clear of crime	Retired to Chobham	Young.
London	Bonner	Cruel	Burnt many victims	Sent to prison	Grindal.
Winchester	Gardiner	Cruel, hard-hearted	Chiefly urging on the rest	Died	Horne.
Durham	Tunstall	Obstinate, good old man	Kept clear of crime	Lived with Parker	Pilkington.
Lincoln	Watson	Cruel	Burnt one victim	Sent to prison	Bullingham.
Chester	Cotes, then Scott	Moderate	Kept clear of crime	Went to Louvain	Downham.
Lichfield	Baynes	Cruel	Burnt many victims	—	Bentham.
Worcester	Pates	Moderate	Kept clear of crime	Went abroad	Sandys.
Peterborough	Poole	Persecutor	Burnt a shoemaker	Lived out on parole	Scambler.
Exeter	J. Turberville	Moderate	—	Deprived	Alley.
Ely	Thirlby	Weak time-server	Presided at outrages on Cranmer, but wept	Lived with Parker	Cox (King Edward's tutor).
Norwich	Hopton	Cruel	Burnt many people	—	Parkhurst.
Bristol	Holyman	Cruel	Burnt three victims	Died	Cheyney.
Gloucester	Brooks	Time-server	—	Died	,,
Bath and Wells	Bourne	Time-server	—	—	Berkeley.
Salisbury	Capon (*alias* Salcot)	Cruel	Burnt four victims	—	Jewel.
Oxford	See void most of the time	—	—	—	—
Rochester	Morris Griffin	Cruel	Burnt many people	Died	Gwest.
Chichester	Christopherson	Cruel	Burnt twenty-seven people	Sent to prison	Barlow (consecrated Archbishop Parker)
Carlisle	Oglethorpe	Moderate	—	—	Best.
Hereford	Parfoy (*alias* Warton)	Moderate	—	Died	Scory (consecrated Archbishop Parker).
St. Asaph	Parfoy (*alias* Warton)	Robber	—	—	—
Bangor	Glyn	Time-server	—	Died	Meyrick.
St. Davids	Morgan	Cruel	Burnt his predecessor, Dr. Ferrar	Died a horrible death	Young.

XX

EDWARD'S SISTER 'TEMPERANCE'

EDWARD had well called his sister 'Temperance,' for it was by temperance and moderation that she restored prosperity to the country. She showed by many acts that she revered the memory of her young brother, and forgave her exclusion on the Letters Patent, as a step taken under pressure and in sickness. She forgave the Dudley family and was warmly attached to the two surviving sons, as the friends of her childhood.

The great Queen's first measures were to restore her brother's legislation, and to adopt his plans. In re-enacting Edward's Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and the Administration of the Sacraments it was declared that the repeal by Mary's Parliament was void and of none effect. The repeal, it was further declared, 'caused a great decay of the due honour to God, and discomfort to the truth of Christ's religion.'

Edward's legislation was restored and again made law, and so it has remained to the present day.

Even before that, Elizabeth had, by the agency of Sir Thomas Gresham, taken steps to adopt the measures about which young Edward had been so anxious, the payment of the crown debts, and the restoration of the currency. It was a difficult undertaking, after years of misgovernment, but it was achieved with thoroughness and completeness.

Next came the Queen's kindly acts of restitution. Of the five young Dudleys, John Earl of Warwick had died in prison, Guilford had fallen a victim to Mary's cruelty, Henry was killed at St. Quentin, Ambrose and Robert survived. Elizabeth restored Ambrose to his father's Earldom of Warwick, and created Robert Earl of Leicester.

The Marquis of Northampton was restored to all his honours and titles.

The exiled divines of the Church of England were welcomed back. Several were made Bishops. All were provided for. Among them Dr. Alexander Nowell, formerly Headmaster of Westminster School, who had written the 'Catechismus Brevis' for young Edward, had escaped to Germany. On his return he was made Archdeacon of Middlesex, Prebendary of Westminster, Canon of

Windsor, Principal of Brasenose, and Rector of Much Hadham, where he became a famous angler, giving his fish to his parishioners. He lived to a great age, and died in 1602.

The body of Peter Martyr's wife, which had been dug up by Mary, was restored to consecrated ground at Christ Church, and was honoured by having the relics of St. Frideswide buried with it.

The Duchess of Suffolk and Mr. Bertie returned happily to Grimthorpe, and their son Lord Willoughby became one of the great Queen's most trusted diplomatists and generals.

Of young Edward's tutors, Dr. Cox had escaped to Frankfort. Elizabeth made him Bishop of Ely. The well-loved Sir John Cheke had died in shame and sorrow. The Queen knighted his son, and made him Secretary to the Council of the North.

When honest John Hales returned from exile, he was restored to his Clerkship of the Hanaper.

Of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, when Sir Thomas Wroth returned from Strassburg he was most graciously received and was in great favour. He lived for many years at Enfield, and was a member of Parliament.[1]

[1] Fuller dedicated one of the books of his *Church History* to Sir Henry, a great-grandson of Sir Thomas Wroth.

Sir Nicholas Throgmorton became an eminent statesman and diplomatist, and was for many years in high favour with the Queen. Of the best loved, Sydney and Barnaby, we will speak last.

Of the Secretaries of State, Petre trimmed his sails to the change. Sir William Cecil became Lord Burleigh, the Queen's faithful and most trusted Minister. Sir Thomas Smith was employed on important diplomatic missions.

Master William Thomas, King Edward's good friend and adviser, was not forgotten. Respect was shown to his memory by the reversal of the unjust sentence, and his restoration in blood. Many friends had mourned his untimely and cruel death.

Sir Henry Sydney had been a most faithful and loving friend of the young King. He was son-in-law of Northumberland. Sir Henry became one of the finest examples of an Elizabethan statesman, able, upright, and fearless. He distinguished himself as Lord Deputy of Ireland, where he had opportunities of befriending Barnaby. He was a Knight of the Garter, and survived until 1586.

It is probable that the impetus given to Arctic enterprise by Edward VI. was felt down to the

time of the voyages of Frobisher. For Sir Martin Frobisher appealed to Sir Henry Sydney to obtain for him the Queen's approval, through Ambrose Dudley Earl of Warwick, his brother-in-law. If Sydney took action, he would have been impelled to do so by the memory of the interest his dear young master took in Arctic discovery.

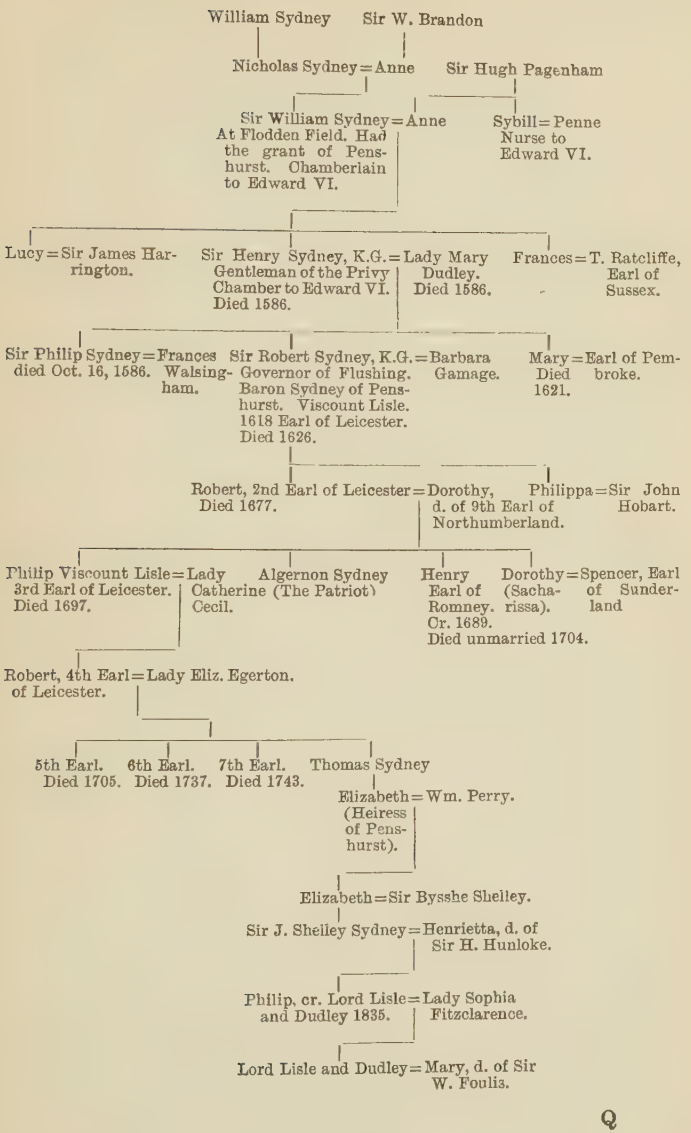
Barnaby was the best beloved. On the death of Edward he appears to have put himself under the protection of his cousin the Earl of Ormonde. He was a charming lad, and grew up to be an honourable and faithful subject of the great Queen. He returned to Ireland, governing his estates with valour and wisdom. He was a diligent and watchful opponent of the Queen's enemies, defeating and killing Rory O'More among other rebels. His old friend Sir Henry Sydney held him in high estimation, and knighted him in 1566. For some reason Barnaby incurred the enmity of the Earl of Ormonde, who brought charges against him, and he was committed to Dublin Castle. Sir Henry Wallop declared the charges to be false. In 1560 Barnaby had married Jane, daughter of Sir Rowland Eustace, Viscount Baltinglas, and had a daughter Margaret. His wife and daughter appear to have been abducted, and he died of a broken

heart in the house of a surgeon named Kelly in Dublin, on September 11, 1581. His only child Margaret married James Lord Dunboyne. Sydney said of Barnaby : 'He was the most sufficient man that ever I found of that country birth.' He was succeeded in his estates (not as Baron of Upper Ossory) by his brother Florence.

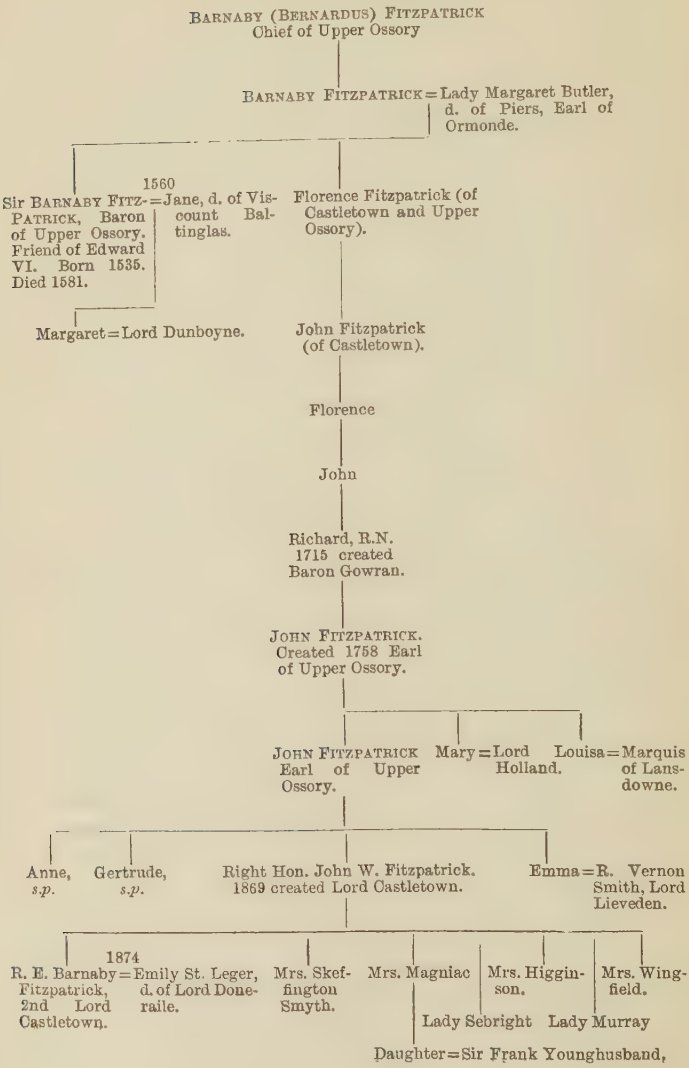
Lord Castletown, the present head of Barnaby's family, still possesses the portrait of Edward VI., given to his ancestor by the King, and seven of Edward's autograph letters addressed to Barnaby when he was in France.

Here the story ends. It began with the boy and girl, Edward and Elizabeth, loving brother and sister, studying and playing together in their Hertfordshire homes. The boy became King, and in a few years he was struck down with a mortal illness. His death would bring evils on his country, his religion, and his friends, unless by some means they could be averted. He was induced to attempt the avoidance of these calamities even at the price of sacrificing the interests of his sister. But it was not to be. He was spared the knowledge, yet the terrible storm burst over the country, overwhelming all that was dear to him.

His cousin Jane fell a victim with many others. His sister narrowly escaped destruction. In due time the sky cleared. The sun shone once more. The gloom was dispelled; and the great Queen restored her young brother's legislation, carried out his plans, and befriended all the survivors of those who had been dear to him. Elizabeth cherished the memory of the well-remembered companion of her early years.


William Sydney
Sir W. Brandon
Nicholas Sydney = Anne
Sir Hugh Pagenham
Sir William Sydney = Anne
At Flodden Field. Had the grant of Penshurst. Chamberlain to Edward VI.
Sybill = Penne
Nurse to Edward VI.
Lucy = Sir James Harrington.
Sir Henry Sydney, K.G. = Lady Mary Dudley.
Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Edward VI.
Died 1586.
Died 1586.
Frances = T. Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex.
Sir Philip Sydney = Frances Walsingham.
died Oct. 16, 1586.
Sir Robert Sydney, K.G. = Barbara Gamage.
Governor of Flushing.
Baron Sydney of Penshurst. Viscount Lisle.
1618 Earl of Leicester.
Died 1626.
Mary = Earl of Pembroke.
Died 1621.
Robert, 2nd Earl of Leicester = Dorothy, d. of 9th Earl of Northumberland.
Died 1677.
Philippa = Sir John Hobart.
Philip Viscount Lisle = Lady Catherine Cecil.
3rd Earl of Leicester.
Died 1697.
Algernon Sydney (The Patriot)
Henry Earl of Romney. Cr. 1689.
Died unmarried 1704.
Dorothy = Spencer, Earl of Sunderland
(Sacharissa).
Robert, 4th Earl = Lady Eliz. Egerton.
of Leicester.
5th Earl.
Died 1705.
6th Earl.
Died 1737.
7th Earl.
Died 1743.
Thomas Sydney
Elizabeth = Wm. Perry.
(Heiress of Penshurst).
Elizabeth = Sir Bysshe Shelley.
Sir J. Shelley Sydney = Henrietta, d. of Sir H. Hunloke.
Philip, cr. Lord Lisle and Dudley 1835. = Lady Sophia Fitzclarence.
Lord Lisle and Dudley = Mary, d. of Sir W. Foulis.

PEDIGREE OF BARNABY.


Barnaby (Bernardus) Fitzpatrick
Chief of Upper Ossory
Barnaby Fitzpatrick = Lady Margaret Butler, d. of Piers, Earl of Ormonde.
Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, Baron of Upper Ossory. Friend of Edward VI. Born 1535. Died 1581.
1560 Jane, d. of Viscount Baltinglas.
Florence Fitzpatrick (of Castletown and Upper Ossory).
Margaret = Lord Dunboyne.
John Fitzpatrick (of Castletown).
Florence
John
Richard, R.N. 1715 created Baron Gowran.
John Fitzpatrick. Created 1758 Earl of Upper Ossory.
John Fitzpatrick Earl of Upper Ossory.
Mary = Lord Holland.
Louisa = Marquis of Lansdowne.
Anne, s.p.
Gertrude, s.p.
Right Hon. John W. Fitzpatrick. 1869 created Lord Castletown.
Emma = R. Vernon Smith, Lord Lieveden.
R. E. Barnaby Fitzpatrick, 2nd Lord Castletown.
1874 Emily St. Leger, d. of Lord Donoraile.
Mrs. Skeffington Smyth.
Mrs. Magniac
Mrs. Higginson.
Mrs. Wingfield.
Lady Sebright
Lady Murray
Daughter = Sir Frank Younghusband,

XXI

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